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Premodern Yoga Traditions and Ayurveda: Preliminary Remarks on Shared Terminology, Theory, and Praxis

Jason Birch

School of Oriental and African Studies, London University

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Principal Contact:

Dominik Wujastyk, Editor, University of Alberta

Email: wujastyk@ualberta.ca

Mailing Address:

History of Science in South Asia,
Department of History and Classics,
2–81 HM Tory Building,
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2H4
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Premodern Yoga Traditions and Ayurveda: Preliminary Remarks on Shared Terminology, Theory, and Praxis

Jason Birch

School of Oriental and African Studies, London University

INTRODUCTION

IN THE CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL MARKET FOR WELLNESS, the combining of Yoga and Ayurveda is common. More than a married couple, Yoga and Ayurveda are deemed to be sisters, born of the same scriptural family, the Vedas.¹ A recent example of this seemingly familial relationship is found in the promotional material of the Moksha Festival, which is one of the many Yoga events held annually in America. It is billed as “a celebration of wellness, spiritual expansion and conscious living through: Yoga, Health, Ayurveda, Sacred Music and Spiritual Art,” and the festival’s website states:

... Ayurveda is the sister science to yoga. Together yoga and Ayurveda work toward the goal of helping a person achieve health, happiness, and ultimately liberation. According to Ayurveda and yoga, health can only be achieved by the balanced and dynamic integration of body, mind and spirit with the changing cycles of nature.²

The idea that Yoga and Ayurveda are “sisters” might seem somewhat unsurprising to those who practise Yoga for health and wellbeing, because “New Age

¹ For example, Lad (1984) wrote an article entitled “Yoga’s Sister Science: An Introduction to Ayurveda” in *Yoga Journal*. Also, Frawley (2002: 5) connected them both to the Vedas: “Yoga and Ayurveda are sis-

ter sciences that developed together and repeatedly influenced each other throughout history. They are integral parts of the great system of Vedic knowledge....”

² Moksha Festival 2015.

Ayurveda” is marketed as an alternative health therapy.³ Furthermore, those who have learnt Yoga in India are unlikely to question the compatibility of Yoga with Ayurveda, for they would be aware that some of the most prominent Indian gurus of Yoga in the twentieth century were knowledgeable about Ayurveda. For example, Krishnamacharya’s son Desikachar has written that his father would rely on his “great knowledge of Ayurveda” to read the pulse of his students and prescribe changes in diet and medicines.⁴ Also, Swami Sivananda,⁵ who founded the Divine Life Society in 1936 after studying Western medicine and serving as a doctor in Malaysia for ten years, believed that “yogins have a sound practical knowledge of Ayurveda”.⁶ One of Krishnamacharya’s students, B. K. S. Iyengar, whose style of Yoga has become popular internationally, likened Patañjali and Caraka to physicians, the former treating the mind and the latter the body.⁷ From the medical side, the Indian surgeon K. N. Udupa published two influential books on yoga and mental health in the 1980s, namely *Stress and its Management by Yoga* and *Promotion of “Health for All” by Ayurveda and Yoga*.⁸

In more recent decades, some gurus have profited from combining Yoga and Ayurveda. For example, Baba Ramdev, whose televised Yoga classes have become popular in India, is the head of a prosperous business for Ayurvedic products, known as the Patanjali Yogpeeth.⁹ Similarly, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi

³ Kenneth Zysk was among the first to coin the phrase “New Age Ayurveda” in his 1995 lecture at an IASTAM conference in London, published in Zysk 2001. In a more recent publication, “New Age Ayurveda” has been defined as “the more recent trend of a globally popularized and acculturated Ayurveda, which tends to emphasize and reinterpret, if not reinvent, the philosophical and spiritual aspects of Ayurveda” (Dagmar Wujastyk and Smith 2008: 2). For references to those scholars who have dismissed modern Ayurveda as a New-age fad and have critiqued its promoters for commodifying the tradition, see Warriar 2011: 87.

⁴ Desikachar and Craven 1998: 130–31.

⁵ Sivananda 1997: 100, first published 1938.

⁶ Strauss 2005: 36. In his book on Ayurveda, Sivananda goes so far as to say that Ayurveda “is even superior to the other Vedas because it gives life which is the basis of all enjoyments, study, meditation and Yoga Sadhana.” (Sivananda 2006: 20, first published in 1958).

⁷ Iyengar 2006: 142. Other students of

Krishnamacharya whose teachings are known internationally have studied and taught Ayurveda. For example, A. G. Mohan has co-authored a book called *Yoga Therapy: A Guide to the Therapeutic Use of Yoga and Ayurveda for Health and Fitness* (Mohan 2004). In his book *Yoga Mala*, Pattabhi Jois quotes an “Ayurvedic pramana” to support the assertion that vegetables should not be eaten (Jois 2002: 24). I have not been able to trace the Sanskrit source of his quotation. Eddie Stern has informed me that “after retiring from the Sanskrit College, [Pattabhi Jois] worked at and attended the Ayurvedic college in Mysore for three years. He was knowledgeable about Ayurveda and learned pulse diagnosis (he read my pulse once). He recommended herbal remedies only on occasion, but felt that food regulation was of paramount importance to health and success in yoga” (personal communication, 16.7.2015).

⁸ Udupa 1985a,b.

⁹ Chakrabarti 2012: 151.

is known worldwide for his teachings on Transcendental Meditation (TM). Since 1985, this guru has promoted “Maharishi Ayur-Ved,” which has been described as “among the most successful models of a globalised Ayurveda”.¹⁰ In 2014, the Indian government established a separate ministry of Ayurveda, Yoga and Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha and Homoeopathy (AYUSH), which promotes Ayurveda and Yoga in tandem.

The current interplay between Yoga and Ayurveda raises two questions. Firstly, how old might this relationship be and, secondly, was it as intimately connected in pre-modern times as it seems today? The first question is relatively easy to answer because textual evidence from the classical period of India’s history suggests that some kind of relationship dates back to the beginning of the first millennium, although not to the time of the composition of the Vedic hymns, as claimed by some.¹¹ One of the oldest and most authoritative texts of Ayurveda, the *Carakasamhitā*, that is generally ascribed to the first century CE, has a chapter on Yoga that contains a system with eight auxiliaries (*aṣṭāṅga*). This indicates that physicians (*vaidyā*) of that time were willing to adopt Yoga. As Dominik Wujastyk (2012: 33–5) has observed, Caraka’s *Aṣṭāṅgayoga* predates the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* and it appears to have been influenced profoundly by Buddhism. In addition, there is evidence which suggests that Patañjali himself

¹⁰ Jeannotat 2008: 286.

¹¹ The affiliation of Ayurveda with the Vedas is mentioned in the classical texts themselves. For example, Caraka says that a physician should proclaim his own devotion in the *Atharvaveda*, because the *Atharvaveda* teaches therapy and therapy is taught for the benefit of longevity (*Carakasamhitā*, *Sūtrasthāna* 30.21 – तत्र भिषजा ... आत्मनोऽथर्ववेदे भक्तिरादेश्या वेदो ह्याथर्वणो ... चिकित्सां प्राह चिकित्सा चायुषो हितायोपदिश्यते); Suśruta said that Brahmā taught the eightfold Ayurveda as an auxiliary to the Vedas (*Suśrutasaṃhitā*, *Sūtrasthāna* 34.8ab – ब्रह्मा वेदाङ्गमष्टाङ्गमायुर्वेदमभाषत) and Vāgbhaṭa described it as an *upaveda* of the *Atharvaveda* (*Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha*, *Sūtrasthāna* 1.7cd–18.ab – तान्द्वैव सहस्राक्षो निजगाद यथागमम्॥ आयुषः पालनं वेदमुपवेदमथर्वणः). Some scholars, such as Jolly (1977), have noted a few correspondences between vedic medicine and the classical works of Ayurveda, particularly in regard to their use of mantras (Zysk 1998: 10). However, the scholarly con-

sensus appears to be that most of the theory of classical Ayurveda, for example the *tridoṣa* theory, is not found in the Vedas. See, for example, Bronkhorst (2007: 56–60) who argues that Ayurveda derives from the culture of Greater Magadha and not from Vedic Brahmanism, and Dominik Wujastyk (2003b: 394–5) who notes that the narrative context of Caraka’s assertion undermines its interpretation as a historical claim. A further problem with claims that Yoga and Ayurveda derive from the Vedas (e.g., Frawley 2002: 309) is that they frequently rely on a subjective identification of yoga-like elements in vedic mantra and ritual practices. Seeing that the earliest layers of the Vedas do not mention a system of Yoga and unambiguous references to Yoga do not appear until the middle Upaniṣads, such as the *Kaṭhopaniṣat* and *Śvetāśvataropaniṣat*, the Vedic origin of the salient features of Yoga in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* and some chapters of the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata* is rather unlikely, in my opinion.

had some knowledge of Ayurveda, because his commentarial definition and discussion of disease (*vyādhi*), which is mentioned in *sūtra* 1.30, is similar to one given by Caraka. After considering this as well as a list of bodily constituents (*dhātu*) and their relation to the humours (*doṣa*) in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*, Philipp Maas (2008: 153) concludes:

On the whole, the system of medical knowledge with which Patañjali was acquainted is clearly Āyurvedic, and of an early classical style.

The research for this article was prompted by the second question posed above on the synthesis between Yoga and Ayurveda. I will attempt to give a preliminary answer by assessing the shared terminology, theory and praxis between a reasonably large corpus of Yoga texts that date from the eleventh to nineteenth century and the foundational works of Ayurveda. As such, this article is structured as follows:

1. Corpus of Texts on Yoga and Ayurveda
2. Shared Terminology
 - The Names of Disease
 - Humoral Diseases
3. Theory
 - Fire, Digestive Fire and Digestion
 - Yogi-Physicians and Humoral Theory (*tridoṣa*)
 - Vital Points (*marman*)
 - The Early Corpus
 - The Late Corpus
 - Herbs
4. Praxis
 - Postures (*āsana*)
 - The Six Therapeutic Actions (*ṣaṭkarma*) of Haṭhayoga
 - Yoga Therapy (*yogacikitsā*)
 - A Vaidya-Yogi-Scholar

As far back as the *Carakasamhitā*, methods have been incorporated into Ayurveda for the attainment of the the three aims (*eṣāṇā*) of self-preservation (*prāṇa*), wealth (*dhana*) and the world beyond this one (*paraloka*).¹² It is not unreasonable

¹² For a translation and commentary on this passage in the *Carakasamhitā*

(*Sūtrasthāna* 11.3), see Dominik Wujastyk 2003a: 45 and 60.

to suppose that the authors of the yoga texts listed in section 1 might have had an extensive knowledge of Ayurveda and borrowed material from Ayurvedic works. The Yoga traditions in question aim at liberation (*mokṣa*) from transmigration by means of the practice of Yoga and, generally speaking, they regard disease as an obstacle to liberation inasmuch as it can obstruct the practice of Yoga. Therefore, yogins desirous of liberation might have consulted Ayurvedic doctors to cure their illnesses. Also, one might surmise that longevity would provide a yogin with more time to achieve liberation. This is implied in the *Carakasamhitā*'s discussion of how a healthy person can attain the world beyond (*paraloka*) by pursuits which include absorption of the mind (*manāḥsamādhi*).¹³

In most cases, health and healing is a salient theme of the Yoga texts consulted for this article. As I will argue, the evidence suggests that yogins resorted to a more general knowledge of healing disease, which is found in earlier Tantras and Brahmanical texts, without adopting in any significant way teachings from classical Ayurveda. In some cases, it is apparent that yogins developed distinctly Yogic modes of curing diseases.

1. CORPUS OF TEXTS ON YOGA AND AYURVEDA

THE YOGA CORPUS EXAMINED IN THIS ARTICLE consists of texts that teach physical techniques and meditative absorption (*samādhi*¹⁴), either as auxiliaries within a system of Yoga or as autonomous systems in themselves. These works were composed between the eleventh and the nineteenth century CE. Generally speaking, the physical techniques became known as Haṭhayoga and *samādhi* as Rājayoga, and the texts in which they appear posit the practice (*abhyāsa*) of Yoga as the chief means to liberation (*mokṣa*). In the following list of the early texts of these types of Yoga, which I refer to as the "early corpus," I have grouped each work according to the name of the Yoga it teaches. Though these emic categories reveal some important commonalities between these works, it should be noted that there is no evidence for a premodern source that either categorizes them in this way or recognizes them as a unified textual corpus:¹⁵

¹³ See *Carakasamhitā* (*Sūtrasthāna* 11.33).

¹⁴ In these texts, meditative absorption is referred to by a variety of terms, such as *samādhi*, *amanaska*, *unmanī*, *nirālamba*, *laya*, etc. In this article, I will refer to it by the generic term *samādhi*.

¹⁵ For information on the dating of these texts, see Birch 2011: 528. More recent information on the dating of some texts has

been cited in the footnotes of this article. One might argue that there are at least two Advaitavedānta texts written before the sixteenth century that contain enough Haṭha- and Rājayoga in them to justify their inclusion among the early texts consulted for this paper. The first of these texts is the *Aparokṣānubhūti*, that teaches a system of

- The Fourfold System of Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha- and Rājayoga

The *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* (12–13th c.)¹⁶

The *Yogabijā* (14th c.)

The *Amaraughaprabodha* (14th c.)¹⁷

The *Śivasamhitā* (15th c.)¹⁸

- Rājayoga only

The *Amanaska*, chapter two (11–12th c.)

- Haṭha- and Rājayoga only

The *Yogatārāvalī* (14th c.)¹⁹

- Śaḍāṅgayoga

The *Vivekamārtanḍa* (12–13th c.), later known by other names (e.g., *Gorakṣaśataka*)²⁰

- Aṣṭāṅgayoga

The *Vasiṣṭhasamhitā* (12–13th c.)

Rājayoga with fifteen auxiliaries. It was probably written before the fourteenth century, owing to a commentary on it called the *Dīpikā*, that is attributed to Vidyāraṇya in its colophons and begins with a *maṅgala* verse commonly used by the fourteenth-century Advaitavedāntin named Vidyāraṇya (Olivelle 1981: 80). I wish to thank James Madai for pointing out to me the importance of the *Dīpikā*'s *maṅgala* verse. The second text is the *Jīvanmuktiviveka* by the same Vidyāraṇya, who integrates Advaitavedānta with Pātañjalayoga. I have omitted these two texts because they did not influence the *Haṭhapradīpikā* nor the works on Yoga (mentioned in this article) which followed it. An exception to this is that the *Aparokṣānubhūti* provided verses for two Yoga Upaniṣads, the *Nāḍabindūpaniṣat* and the *Yogaśikhopaniṣat* (Bouy 1994: 34, 36).

¹⁶ As part of this fourfold system of Yoga, the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* teaches a system of Haṭhayoga with eight auxiliaries (*aṣṭāṅga*), which it says was first taught

by Yājñavalkya. Seeing that the principal structure of this text is that of the fourfold Yoga (and its Aṣṭāṅgayoga is one of two types of Haṭhayoga), it is more appropriate to include it in this category.

¹⁷ There are two redactions of the *Amaraughaprabodha*, a short and long one. The long redaction has been published by Mallik (1954a: 48–55). The short one is preserved in two manuscripts (MS Chennai, ARL 70528 and MS Chennai, GOML SR1448). Internal evidence suggests that the short redaction antedates the long one and it is likely that only the short redaction predates the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (Birch 2018a).

¹⁸ The *Śivasamhitā* in its current form may not predate the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. It is a compilation and its fifth chapter appears to be unrelated to the first four. For details on this, see Birch 2018b.

¹⁹ For a discussion on the date of the *Yogatārāvalī*, see Birch 2015: 5–8.

²⁰ For the different names of this text, see Bouy 1994: 18 and Mallinson 2007a: 166 n. 9.

The *Yogayājñavalkya* (13–14th c.)²¹

- Others²²

The *Amṛtasiddhi* (11th c.)²³

The *Gorakṣaśataka* (14th c.)²⁴

The *Candrāvalokana* (13–14th c.)²⁵

The *Khecarīvidyā* (14th c.)²⁶

These texts can be considered “early” in so far as they were forerunners to the fifteenth-century *Haṭhapradīpikā*, with which they share one or more verses. Svāt-mārāma, the author of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, formulated a system of Haṭhayoga, the structure and techniques of which were widely regarded as typical of Haṭhayoga after the sixteenth-century. This is evinced by Yoga texts, such as the *Haṭharatnā-valī*, which borrowed extensively from the *Haṭhapradīpikā* as well as compilations, such as the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, which quote the *Haṭhapradīpikā* at length on matters of Haṭhayoga.

In the centuries following the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, the literature on Haṭha- and Rājayoga changed significantly. More extensive texts on the fourfold system of Yoga and Aṣṭāṅgayoga were written, as well as at least two expanded versions of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Also, learned Brahmins attempted to integrate teachings on Haṭha- and Rājayoga with those of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* and various Brahmanical texts such as the Upaniṣads, Epics, Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras, and this resulted in large eclectic compilations on Yoga. As Bouy (1994) noted,

²¹ The *Yogayājñavalkya* referred to in this article is the one which is similar in style and content to the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*. For information on an earlier and different Yoga text often referred to by the same name, see Dominik Wujastyk 2017: 160–64.

²² These “other” texts do not categorise the Yoga they explain, nor do they structure their Yogas according to auxiliaries (*aṅga*). However, they do teach methods which became important to later traditions of Haṭha- and Rājayoga and contain verses which were borrowed by the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

²³ The *Amṛtasiddhi* teaches *mahāmudrā*, *mahābandha* and *mahāvedha* (Mallinson 2011: 771), which include two types of “lock” (i.e., *yonibandha* and *kaṇṭhabandha*). These techniques became Haṭhayogic

mudrās and were central to its practice of *prāṇāyāma*.

²⁴ This *Gorakṣaśataka* is a different work to the *Vivekamārtanḍa* (mentioned above). It includes four of the breath retentions (*kumbhaka*) of later Haṭhayoga traditions as well as the practice of *śakticālana* (see Mallinson 2012).

²⁵ The *Candrāvalokana* teaches the technique called *sāmbhavī mudrā* for dissolving the mind (*laya*) and several of its verses were incorporated in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*’s fourth chapter (see Bouy 1994).

²⁶ The *Khecarīvidyā* teaches *khecarīmudrā* and four of its verses on this technique were incorporated into the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (see Mallinson 2007a).

most of the so-called Yoga Upaniṣads integrated Haṭha- and Rājayoga with teachings on Advaitavedānta. These texts, which I shall call the “late corpus” in this paper, are as follows:²⁷

- The Fourfold System of Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha- and Rājayoga

The *Haṭharatnāvalī* (17th c.)²⁸

The *Yogamārgaparakāśikā* (16–18th c.)²⁹

The *Śivayogapradīpikā* (late 15th c.)³⁰

- Expanded versions of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*

The *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* (18th c.)³¹

The *Haṭhapradīpikā* (10 chapters) (18th c.)³²

²⁷ I have not included a work by the name of the *Āyurvedasūtra* in this corpus because, as far as I am aware, it is not cited and does not share textual parallels with the corpuses of yoga texts that I am examining. Therefore, for the purposes of my inquiry, the *Āyurvedasūtra* is an eccentric work that is beyond the scope of this article. For information on it, see HIML: IIA, 499–501 *et passim* and Slatoff 2017.

²⁸ For the date of the *Haṭharatnāvalī*, see Birch 2018a.

²⁹ Sections of the *Yogamārgaparakāśikā* appear to be redactions of earlier texts that teach Haṭhayoga. In particular, it has many parallel verses with the *Haṭhapradīpikā* and the *Śivasamhitā* and some with the *Yogayājñavalkya*. Other sections may be original or derive from Yoga texts no longer extant. There are a few loose parallels with commentarial and unattributed passages quoted in Brahmānanda's *Haṭhapradīpikājyotsnā*. If Brahmānanda borrowed from the *Yogamārgaparakāśikā*, then the latter's *terminus ad quem* is the mid-nineteenth century.

³⁰ For reliable information on the date, author and manuscripts of the *Śivayogapradīpikā*, see Powell 2017. Powell will write his doctoral thesis on this text and will publish more information on it in the coming years.

³¹ Birch 2018a.

³² The *terminus a quo* of the *Haṭhapra-*

dīpikā with ten chapters is the original fifteenth-century *Haṭhapradīpikā* (with four chapters). Its *terminus ad quem* is either the *Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṅgraha*, which quotes verses from the tenth chapter of a *Haṭhapradīpikā* (*haṭhapradīpikāyāṃ daśamopadeśe*), or Bālakṛṣṇa's commentary (called the *Yogaparakāśikā*) on the *Haṭhapradīpikā* with ten chapters. The date of the *Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṅgraha* is not certain, though it post-dates the *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati*, which might be as late as the eighteenth century (Mallinson 2014a: 170–71). The date of Bālakṛṣṇa's *Yogaparakāśikā* is not known, although this Bālakṛṣṇa does mention a “Mānasimha” (Gharote 2006: xxix), which would place him in the nineteenth century if this is Man Singh II of Jodhpur who patronized the Nāths. Bālakṛṣṇa's commentary also quotes the *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* (Gharote 2006: xxix), which indicates that Bālakṛṣṇa lived sometime after the eighteenth century. If the *Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṅgraha* and Bālakṛṣṇa can be assigned to the nineteenth century, then the *Haṭhapradīpikā* with ten chapters might have been written in the eighteenth century. In its first chapter (1.35), it mentions a yoga with six auxiliaries (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*), but this verse is taken from the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*. The text

- Aṣṭāṅgayoga

The *Jogapradīpyakā* (18th c.)³³

- Compilations on Yoga

Godāvaramiśra's *Yogacintāmaṇi* (16th c.)³⁴

Śivānanda's *Yogacintāmaṇi* (17th c.)³⁵

The *Yuktabhavadēva* (17th c.)³⁶

The *Haṭhatattvakaumudī* (18th c.)³⁷

The *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* (18th c.)³⁸

Rāmacandra's *Tattvabindu-yoga* (17–18th c.)³⁹

- Texts on Specific Techniques of Haṭhayoga

The *Satkarmasaṅgraha* (18th c.)⁴⁰

The *Kumbhakapaddhati* (17th c.)⁴¹

of the extended *Haṭhapradīpikā* does not limit itself to six auxiliaries, as it includes teachings on *yama* and *niyama* (1.55–58) and is structured largely on the contents of the original *Haṭhapradīpikā* with many additional verses throughout the text and additional chapters on *pratyāhāra*, along with *dhāraṇā* and *dhyāna*, *kālajñāna* and *videhamukti*.

³³ The *Jogapradīpyakā* was written by a Rāmānandī named Jayatārāma (Mallinson 2011a: 774). A colophonic verse at the end of the text (957) gives the date as *saṃvat* 1794 *āśvinaśukla* 10, which is 4.10.1737CE. It does not mention Haṭhayoga, but teaches an *aṣṭāṅgayoga* (verse 18) which integrates various techniques of earlier Haṭha traditions, such as the standard *āsanas*, *kumbhakas*, *mudrās* and *ṣaṭkarmas*, with many other *āsanas* and *mudrās* as well as some practices not usually found in this corpus such as prognostication based on nasal dominance (*svaryoga*) and how to enter another body (*parakāyapraveśa*). The result is an eclectic Yoga that includes many practical details which are absent in earlier Yoga texts. At the end of the *Jogapradīpyakā*, Jayatārāma cites the *Haṭhapradīpikā* and the *Pātāñjalayogaprakāśa* among other texts.

³⁴ Godāvaramiśra can be dated to the reign of the king Pratāparudra (1497–1539CE) of Orissa (Goudriaan and Gupta 1981: 146). He was appointed as the king's Rājaguru in 1510CE (HIML:IIA, 563), so the *Yogacintāmaṇi* must have been written between 1510–1539CE. For further details, see Gode 1953.

³⁵ Birch 2013a: 403.

³⁶ A colophonic verse at the end of the *Yuktabhavadēva* gives the year as 1545 (*iṣu-yuga-śara-candra*) in the Śaka era, which is 1623 CE (Gharote and V. K. Jha 2002a: xvi).

³⁷ Birch 2018a.

³⁸ For the date of the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* and the *Haṭhatattvakaumudī*, see below.

³⁹ Birch 2013a: 415, 434 n. 71.

⁴⁰ For the date of the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*, see below.

⁴¹ The *Kumbhakapaddhati*'s *terminus ad quem* is the eighteenth-century Sundaradeva, who quotes the text with attribution in his *Haṭhatattvakaumudī* (12.1, 38.12, 39.9, 40.8, 46.37, 47.11, 51.80). Its *terminus a quo* is yet to be fixed, though the fact that it is a compendium that describes more types of breath retention (*kumbhaka*) than any other Yoga text suggests that it is more recent than the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

- Upaniṣads with Haṭha- and Rājayoga (first half of the 18th c.)⁴²

The *Yogatattvopaniṣat*

The *Dhyānabindūpaniṣat*

The *Nādabindūpaniṣat*

The *Śāṇḍilyopaniṣat*

The *Yogacūḍāmaṇyupaniṣat*

The *Yogakuṇḍalinyupaniṣat*

The *Yogaśikhopaniṣat*

The *Darśanopaniṣat*⁴³

The *Maṇḍalabrāhmaṇopaniṣat*

The *Saubhāgyalakṣmyupaniṣat*

The *Varāhopaniṣat*

- Others

The *Amanaska*, chapter one (15–16th c.)⁴⁴

The *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* (17–18th c.)⁴⁵

The *Gorakṣayogaśāstra* (15–16th c.?)⁴⁶

The *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā* (18th c.)

⁴² These so-called *Yoga Upaniṣads* are part of a recent recension compiled in south-India in the first half of the eighteenth century and commented on by Upaniṣadbrahmayogin. Christian Bouy has identified many earlier Yoga texts as the sources of these Upaniṣads, including the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (Bouy 1994: 85–86), but also other texts such as the *Gītāsāra*, the *Upāsanāsārasaṅgraha*, the *Aparokṣānubhūti*, the *Uttaragītā*, the *Pātāñjalayogaśāstra*, the *Gorakṣopaniṣat*, etc. (Bouy 1994: 86–110).

⁴³ This work is known as the *Gorakṣopaniṣat* in north-India (Bouy 1994: 42, 106–7). It borrows many verses from the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* (see pp. 28 f. of the 2005 Kaivalyadhama edition edited by Maheshananda et al.).

⁴⁴ Birch 2013c: 32–35.

⁴⁵ Birch 2018a.

⁴⁶ MS Kathmandu NAK S 332 (microfilm A1333/20). I am not certain of the name and date of this text, which is called the *Gorakṣayogaśāstra* on the manuscript's index

card and in the final colophon. However, the final colophon (इति गोरक्षजोगशास्त्रसमाप्तं) does not appear to be reliable evidence because it was written in a hand that is different to the rest of the manuscript. The compound मूलसारेति follows the final verse, but this does not seem like a proper colophon to me. The manuscript is palm-leaf, undated and in Newari script. Nils Jacob Liersch is currently writing a master's thesis on this text, which will include a critical edition and discussion of the text's title, date, manuscripts and authorship. It will be submitted at the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University. The text has some verses and content in common with the *Amṛta-siddhi* and teaches some of the Haṭhayogic *bandhas* (see footnote 75), which indicates that it postdates the eleventh century. I have placed it in the late corpus because much of its content is derived from an earlier source. However, it may be earlier than the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

It should be noted that it has been easier to identify textual passages and content from Ayurvedic sources in the late corpus for the simple reason that the majority of its texts cite and name their sources and tend to incorporate more theory and doctrine from a wide range of material, as noted above. In contrast to this, the early corpus is characterized by concise explanations of the practical details of their systems of Yoga, and rarely do the early works reveal their sources. The early texts give the impression that they were instruction manuals on Yoga written by practitioners for practitioners, whereas the late corpus contains texts that were written by scholars who had expertise in several branches of knowledge. One such example is the sixteenth-century *Yogacintāmaṇi* composed by Godāvaramiśra, who wrote other works on various topics, including Tantra, Advaitavedānta and an extensive treatise on politics and warfare.⁴⁷ Therefore, given that many of the texts of the late corpus are compilations by learned authors who often cited their sources, it is easier to identify the content of Ayurvedic works in this corpus than in the early one, about which my comments are more speculative and provisional.

Most of my statements on Ayurveda are based on the contents of the so-called “great triad” (*bṛhatrayī*) of classical Ayurveda, namely, the *Carakasamhitā*, the *Suśrutasamhitā* and Vāgbhaṭa’s *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*.⁴⁸ Where possible, I have consulted other works on Ayurveda and Rāsāśāstra. However, a more systematic search outside the *bṛhatrayī* would further enrich the points of discussion raised in this article.

2. SHARED TERMINOLOGY

NAMES OF DISEASE

EVEN A CURSORY READING of the above-mentioned Yoga texts would reveal that both the early and late corpuses use terminology in discussions of the body and disease that occurs in classical Ayurveda. The *Haṭhapradīpikā* provides a good sample of this shared terminology because it is largely an anthology of the

⁴⁷ I have inferred the first two topics from the titles of two of Godāvaramiśra’s works: the *Tantracintāmaṇi* and the *Advaitadarpaṇa*, which are both quoted in his *Yogacintāmaṇi* (Gode 1953: 474). The third work is called the *Harīharacaturāṅga*, which has been edited and published. For details and a summary of this text’s contents, see Meulenbeld (HIML: IIA, 562–3).

⁴⁸ Although the term *bṛhatrayī* appears in modern publications on Ayurveda, an electronic search of the texts on GRETEL, SARIT and Muktabodha does not reveal occurrences of it. The term could have been coined in the nineteenth century as part of an effort to create a medical canon. I am grateful to Dominik Wujastyk for suggesting this to me.

early corpus,⁴⁹ and was regarded as an authority on Haṭhayoga in many works of the late corpus. In the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, the Ayurvedic word for disorder (*doṣa*) and the three bodily humours of bile (*pitta*), phlegm (*kapha*/*śleṣman*) and wind (*vāta*) are used frequently. There are also references to the bodily constituents (*dhātu*) and more specifically to fat (*medas*), as well as the names of various diseases such as swelling caused by tumours (*gulma*), abdominal diseases (*udara*), hiccup (*hikkā*), breathing difficulty (*śvāsa*), cough (*kāsa*), pain in the head, ears and eyes (*śiraḥkarṇākṣivedanā*), enlargement of the spleen (*plīha*), skin diseases (*kuṣṭha*), obesity (*sthaulya*), problems caused by worms (*kṛmidoṣa*), sloth (*ālasya*), fever (*jvara*), poison (*viṣa*), consumption (*kṣaya*), constipation (*gudāvarta*),⁵⁰ indigestion (*ajīrṇa*) as well as more generally to *vāta*, *pitta* and *kapha* diseases.⁵¹ In fact, the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (2.25) refers to a group of twenty phlegmatic diseases (क्फरोगा च विंशतिः), which appears to be an oblique reference to the group of twenty phlegmatic diseases that are enumerated in some Ayurvedic texts, such as the *Carakasamhitā* (*Sūtrasthāna* 20.10.17).

The frequency of many of the above terms in these Yoga texts is largely the result of literary style. Nearly all of the references to curing diseases and imbalances occur in the descriptions of Yoga techniques, such as in the examples of *mahāmudrā* and *ujjāyikumbhaka* below. Seeing that these works describe many techniques, the names of diseases tend to be repeated throughout each work. The particularity of attributing certain benefits to certain techniques suggests that some of this knowledge was derived from the practical experience of yogins. Nonetheless, these authors also seemed obliged to repeat many platitudes in praising the efficacy of Yoga.

The mere presence of basic Ayurvedic terminology, even if somewhat profuse, is not in itself sufficient proof that the author of a Yoga text had expertise in Ayurveda. As I shall discuss below, this terminology is part of a more general knowledge of disease and the three humours, which pervades earlier Tantras, Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras. However, at times the authors of both the early and late corpuses reveal their understanding of the body and knowledge of medicines, and some occasionally quote or borrow from Ayurvedic texts. In my view, the last two of the following four types of textual evidence are the most certain indicators of an author's knowledge of Ayurveda:

⁴⁹ Bouy 1994.

⁵⁰ On the meaning of *gudāvarta* in the *Pāśupatasūtrabhāṣya* and *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, see Sanderson 1999: 33. According to Alexis Sanderson's interpretation of these sources, *gudāvarta* is "a fundamental incapacity of the anus (*pāyuh*) as organ of excretion."

This may well be a more serious condition than indicated by my translation of "constipation."

⁵¹ See the Appendix, p. 65 below, for a list of these and their references in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

1. Shared terminology
2. Similar anatomical theory and medicines
3. Textual parallels with Ayurvedic texts
4. Citations of Ayurvedic texts

A good example of the complexities behind the shared terminology mentioned above can be seen in the four earliest texts that teach the Haṭhayogic practice called *mahāmudrā*; namely, the *Amṛtasiddhi* (11.3–11), the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* (132–34), the *Vivekamārtanḍa* (81–86) and the *Amaraughaprabodha* (29–32). These texts provide four separate accounts of *mahāmudrā*, which were borrowed or modified in various ways by nearly all subsequent works on Yoga.⁵² The benefits of this practice are described in the *Vivekamārtanḍa* as follows:

Because [of the practice of *mahāmudrā*,] no [food] should be [thought] wholesome or unwholesome. Indeed, all tastes become tasteless. Even a terrible poison consumed is digested as if it were nectar. Consumption (*kṣaya*), skin diseases (*kuṣṭha*), constipation (*gudāvarta*), swelling (*gulma*), indigestion (*ajīrṇa*), fever (*jvara*) and anxiety (*vyathā*): these disorders are destroyed for that [yogin] who practises *mahāmudrā*. This *mahāmudrā* is said to bring people great supernatural powers (*mahāsiddhi*) [such as minimization, etc.⁵³]. It should be kept secret and not given to just anyone.⁵⁴

These verses, which were reproduced in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*,⁵⁵ demonstrate how premodern Yoga texts enumerate the effects of a technique, beginning with the relatively mundane ones of strong digestion and finishing with supernatural powers. This passage is typical in that it only mentions the names of various

⁵² One exception is the section on *mahāmudrā* in the *Jogapradīpyakā* (592–97).

⁵³ I have followed the interpretation of Brahmānanda's commentary (i.e., the *Jyotsnā*) on this verse in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (3.18–): [...] महत्तयश्च ताः सिद्धयश्चाणिमाद्यास्तासां करी कर्त्रीयम्). However, it is possible that the author of the *Vivekamārtanḍa* intended *mahāsiddhi* to refer to some greater achievement than the eight Yogic *siddhis*. This is certainly the case in the *Amṛtasiddhi*, which uses the term *mahāsiddhi* in the third verse of its chapter on *jīvanmuktilakṣaṇa* to refer to the attainment of the three states (*avas-thā*), which follow from the piercing of the three knots (*granthī*). This *mahāsiddhi* brings

liberation while alive (त्रयाणां च यदा सिद्धिः का-यवाक्चित्संभवात्। महासिद्धिस्तदा ज्ञेया जीवन्मुक्तिफल-प्रदा।). However, there is no such statement like this in the *Vivekamārtanḍa*.

⁵⁴ *Vivekamārtanḍa* 61–63 (MS Baroda, Central Library 4110, f. 3r, ll. 2–4): न हि पथ्यमपथ्यं वा रसाः सर्वेऽपि नीरसाः। अपि भुक्तं विषं घोरं पीयूषमिव जीर्यति ॥ ६१ ॥ क्षयकुष्ठगुदावर्तगुल्माजीर्णज्वरव्यथा। तस्य दोषाः क्षयं यान्ति महामुद्रां तु योऽभ्यसेत् ॥ ६२ ॥ कथितं महामुद्रा महासिद्धिकरी नृणाम्। गोपनीया प्रयत्नेन न देया यस्य कस्य चित् ॥ ६३ ॥ सर्वे] emend. : सार्व Codex.

⁵⁵ *Vivekamārtanḍa* 84–86 = *Haṭhapradīpikā* 3.15–17.

diseases and omits any specialized medical knowledge on how these illnesses were diagnosed, treated and managed. Moreover, the names of these diseases appear in other genres of Sanskrit literature of the time such as Tantras, Purāṇas and Epics that predate the tenth century.⁵⁶ Their occurrence in earlier Tantras is particularly significant in this regard, because of the influence of Tantra on these Yoga traditions.⁵⁷ The likelihood that the above list of diseases derives from a Tantric source is somewhat indicated by the inclusion of *gudāvarta* which occurs in three Tantric works that predate Haṭhayoga, but it is not found in the classical texts of Ayurveda.⁵⁸

HUMORAL DISEASES

Nearly all of the Yoga texts in question mention categories of disease such as phlegm (*kapha*/*śleṣman*), bile (*pitta*), wind (*vāta*) disorders (*doṣa*). This terminology refers to concepts that are more sophisticated than merely the names of disease. A good example of its usage in a Yoga text is seen in the description of the breath retention (*kumbhaka*) called *ujjāyī*, which first appears in the *Gorakṣaśataka* (36cd–39) and the *Yogabīja* (96–98ab). The *Gorakṣaśataka*'s description is reproduced in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* as follows:⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Electronic searching of the Sanskrit texts available on Greta and Muktabodha returns hundreds of examples of some of these terms in Tantras and Purāṇas. I shall provide only a few of each taken from contexts which indicate that the meaning is an illness. *kṣaya* – *Sarvajñānottara* 19.6, *Kiraṇatantra* 51.10, *Brahmayāmala* 61.66, *Agnipurāṇa* 282.21, etc.; *kuṣṭha* – *Mālinī-vijayottarantra* 16.56, *Agnipurāṇa* 31.21, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3.346.2, *Mahābhārata* 12.292.6, 13.24.14, etc.; *gudāvarta* – see footnote 50; *gulma* – *Mrgendratantṛavṛtti* *Yogapāda* 2, *Sukṣmāgama* 27.23, *Ahīrbudhnyasamhitā* 38.53, *Garuḍamahāpurāṇa* 1.157.22, etc.; *ajīrṇa* – *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* 39.156, *Garuḍamahāpurāṇa* 1.161.8, etc.; *jvara* – *Kubjikāmatatantra* 9.49, *Netratatantra* 17.6, *Bhagavadgītā* 3.30, etc.; *vyathā* – *Svacchandatantra* 12.95, *Bhagavadgītā* 11.49, etc., etc.

⁵⁷ Mallinson 2011: 770; Birch 2015: 8–10.

⁵⁸ The term *gudāvarta* occurs in *Pāṣupatasūtrabhāṣya* 36–37, *Mrgendratantṛavṛtti* *Yogapāda* 2 and the *Matanṅgaparameśvara*,

Vidyāpāda 18.34ab (Sanderson 1999: 33). On the meaning of *gudāvarta*, see footnote 50.

⁵⁹ *Haṭhapradīpikā* 2.51–53 (see footnote 61) = *Gorakṣaśataka* 36cd–39 [= *Yogakuṇḍaliny-upaniṣat* 26cd–29] (मुखं संयम्य नाडीभ्यां आकृष्य पवनं शनैः ॥ ३६ ॥ यथा लगति कण्ठं तु हृदयावधि सस्वनम् । पूर्ववत्कुम्भयेत्प्राणं रेचयेदिडया ततः ॥ ३७ ॥ शीर्षोत्थितानलहरं गलश्लेष्महरं परं । सर्वरोगहरं पुण्यं देहानलविवर्धनम् ॥ ३८ ॥ नाडीजलोदराधातुगतदोषविनाशनम् । गच्छतस्तिष्ठतः कार्यमुज्जायारख्यं च कुम्भकम् ॥ ३९ ॥

37a कण्ठं] corr. : कर्णात् Codex 37b सस्वनम्] emend. : सुस्वनम् Codex 37d इडया] corr. : इड्या Codex 38a शीर्षोत्थिता- corr. : शीर्षोदिता- Codex 38c सर्वरोगहरं पुण्यं] emend. [cf. योगकुण्डलिन्युपनिषत् 28cd]: omitted Codex. All corrections and emendations are by James Mallinson). *Yogabīja* 96–98ab [= *Yogaśikhopaniṣat* 1.93–95] (नाडीभ्यां वायुमाकृष्य कुण्डल्याः पार्श्वयोर्नरः । धारयेदुदरे सोऽपि रेचयेदिडया सुधीः ॥ ९६ ॥ कण्ठे कफादिदोषघ्नं शरीराग्निविवर्धनम् । शिराजालोदराधातुगतदोषविनाशनम् ॥ ९७ ॥ गच्छतस्तिष्ठतः कार्यमुज्जायारख्यं तु कुम्भकम् ।

Now, *ujjāyī* [is described]. Having closed the mouth and taken in the breath slowly through both nostrils, so that it resonantly (*śasvaram*) touches from the throat as far down as the chest, [the yogin] should hold it as previously taught and breathe out through the left nostril. [*Ujjāyī*] cures disorders (*doṣa*) caused by phlegm (*śleṣman*) in the throat and it increases fire in the body. It cures imbalances in the network of channels (*nāḍījāla*), abdomen and throughout the bodily constituents (*dhātu*).⁶⁰ This breath retention called *ujjāyī* can be practised by one while walking or sitting.⁶¹

97c शिराजालो-] conj.* : शिरोजलो- Ed. 97a कण्ठे] emend. : कण्ठ- Ed. (unmetr.). *My reasons for conjecturing “network of channels” are outlined in footnote 61. The manuscripts’ reading of “head” (शिरस) is possible in so far as the head might be a location for a disease. But this reading does not solve the problem of जल. The redactor of the *Yogaśikhopaniṣat* (1.94cd), who incorporated much of the *Yogabīja*, tried unsuccessfully, in my opinion, to solve this problem by changing this hemistich to नाडीजलापहं धातुगतदोषविनाशनम्).

60 My translation of the part of the compound -*udarādihātu*- requires some explanation. It can only be read as *udara* and *ā dhātu*. The compounding of *ā* seems strange and unnecessary. However, *udarādihātu* would be unmetrical. Brahmānanda explains it this way; “*ā* [means] wholly; the bodily constituents existing in the body are [what is meant by] throughout the bodily constituents” (आ समन्ताद्देहेवर्तमाना धातव आ धातवः). My translation reflects this explanation.

61 *Haṭhapradīpikā* 2.51–53 (1998: 57–58) अथोजायी। मुखं संयम्य नाडीभ्यामाकृष्य पवनं शनैः। यथा लगति कण्ठात्तु हृदयावधि सस्वनम्॥ २.५१॥ पूर्ववत्कुम्भयेत्प्राणं रेचयेदिडया तथा। श्लेष्मदोषहरं कण्ठे देहानलविवर्धनम्॥ २.५२॥ नाडीजालोदराधातुगतदोषविनाशनम्। गच्छता तिष्ठता कार्यमुजाप्याख्यं तु कुम्भकम्॥ २.५३॥

53a नाडीजालोदरा- conj. : नाडीजलोदरा- Ed. The majority of the manuscripts reported in Kaivalyadhama’s critical edition of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* read नाडीजलो- instead of नाडीजालो-. When commenting on this verse,

Brahmānanda understood नाडीजलोदराधातु as a *dvandva* compound of individual members (i.e., an *itaretaradvandva*). If one follows this logic, then one must understand that the vitiated humours (*doṣa*) are located according to each of the members of this compound, which is easy to comprehend in the case of “channels” (*nāḍī*), the “abdomen” (*udara*) and the “bodily constituents” (*dhātu*). However, the problem is how one might understand “water” (*jala*) in this context. Brahmānanda glosses it as “water that has been drunk” or “yellow water” (जलं पीतमुदकम्). In the same vein, one could interpret it as “fluids” in the body, but I am yet to find this meaning of *jala* attested in another Yoga text, in spite of the fact that the term *jala* is used loosely to mean “sweat” and “nectar” in two other verses of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (2.13, 3.70). Moreover, whether one interprets *jala* as water, urine or fluids, this interpretation is unlikely because neither is a part of the body that fits well with the other members of the list. In this regard, it is helpful to consider that seven manuscripts of the *Yogabīja* (see footnote 59) have the reading *śīrojāla*- (‘the head and water’) in a verse which is parallel to this passage. Though this reading is also implausible, it points to a possible corruption of *śīrājāla*, a variant spelling of *sirājāla*, which means “the network of tubular vessels.” The compound *śīrājāla* occurs in other Yoga texts; e.g., *Vivekamārtanḍa* 66, *Sivasamhitā* 4.60, *Haṭhapradīpikā* 3.70, *Haṭharatnāvalī*

References to the three humours in premodern yoga texts are frequent, but they are not a clear indication that yogins derived their knowledge of disease from Ayurveda because similar references occur in earlier Tantras and Purāṇas. To give but one example, the nineteenth chapter of the *Netratantra* sets out the various illnesses, among other calamities, which a king might neutralize by having a *śānti* rite performed for him. The illnesses include:

[...] the ill-effects of poison from snakes, etc., boils caused by worms and so forth, diseases (*vikāra*) of wind and bile (*vātapitta*) and all disorders of phlegm (*śleṣmadoṣa*). Piles, eye diseases, erysipelas and thousands of other diseases, detrimental effects of injuries and the like and internal illnesses that destroy the mind, such as grief and so on.⁶²

In fact, the humoral concept of disease would have been known to yogins who were familiar with Brahmanical Sanskrit literature. For example, the basic terminology of disease and anatomy occurs in the *Dharmaśāstras*. A widely-known text of this genre, the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, contains a detailed passage on the creation of the body, which includes words such as *rasa* (nutrient fluid), *dhātu* (constituent), *ojas* (vital drop), *sirā* (tube), *dhamani* (pipes), *śleṣman* (phlegm), *pitta* (bile) and so on.⁶³ Lists of the seven bodily constituents (*dhātu*) appear in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*, as well as various Purāṇas, Tantras and Buddhist works.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the notion that disease was an imbalance in the bodily constituents is mentioned in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*.⁶⁵ As far as I am aware, such a definition is absent in the Yoga corpus consulted for this article,

2.66, etc. This compound is used to describe the body in the *Parāṅkhyatantra* (see below). Furthermore, in yogic works, it was thought that these channels could be blocked by impurities (*mala*), which might explain the reference to a disorder (*doṣa*) in the channels (see, for example, *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*: 97, *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 1.39, 2.4-6, etc.).

In the critical edition of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, three manuscripts (क, घ and ण) read *jāla* instead of *jala*, and this is metrically permissible. The reading of *jala* can be easily explained as emanating from a scribal error.

⁶² *Netratantra* 19.125cd-27 (1939 [vol 2]: 174) नागादिविषदोषाश्च कीटविस्फोटकादयः ॥ १२५ ॥ वातपित्तविकाराश्च श्लेष्मदोषाश्च सर्वतः । अर्शासि चक्षुरोगाश्च तथा विसर्पकादयः ॥ १२६ ॥ व्याध्यन्तराणि दोषाश्च क्षतजायाः सहस्रशः । आभ्यन्तरा व्याधयश्च शोकाद्याश्च-

चनाशकाः.

⁶³ *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*: 3.68-109.

⁶⁴ For references in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*, as well as Purāṇic and Buddhist literature, see Maas 2008:144-46. Examples in Śaiva Tantras include the *Mataṅgapārameśvaratantra* (*Buddhitattva-prakaraṇa* 17.12), the *Niśvāsakārikā* 25.43, Kṣemarāja's commentary on the *Svacchandanatantra* (4.159), the *Kubjikāmatatantra* (17.93), the *Śāradātīlīka* (1.33), the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (1.64), etc.

⁶⁵ The definition of disease in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* occurs in the *Bhāṣya* on Sūtra 1.30. Maas (2008:147-52) argues that the most likely reading for this is *व्याधिर्धातुवैषम्यम्*, which is similar to some statements in Ayur-

with the exception of Brahmānanda's commentary (the *Jyotsna*) on *Haṭhāpradīpikā* 3.38. This definition of disease made its way from the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* into the *Liṅgapurāṇa* and *Vāyavīyaśaṃhitā*.⁶⁶

Given that some of the content and the non-Pāṇinian register of Sanskrit in much of the Yoga corpus under consideration is similar to the Śaivāgamas, one should think twice before reading more complex Ayurvedic theory into passages of these works that contain humoral terminology and more recondite anatomical terms, especially if a simpler meaning is possible. For example, in the above description of *ujjāyī*, one might be tempted to understand the compound *nāḍījāla*, which is based on a conjecture, according to Ayurvedic theory, referring to the network of blood vessels (*sirājāla*), which is one of four networks (*jāla*) mentioned in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.⁶⁷ Apart from the fact that the word *nāḍī* is not used with this meaning in Ayurvedic works (Dominik Wujastyk 2003a: 37), this compound more probably refers to the general system of channels (*nāḍī*), which were a salient feature of the subtle body in Tantra. Similar references to a network (*jāla*) of channels can be found in Tantras predating Haṭhayoga such as the eighth or ninth-century *Parākhyatantra*.⁶⁸

Even Yoga cannot accomplish its fruits if it is devoid of a support. Its support is the body, which is covered with a network of tubular vessels (*sirājāla*).⁶⁹

Although the presence of humoral terminology is insufficient to prove that pre-modern yogins had expertise in Ayurveda, the prominence of such terminology in both the early and late corpuses indicates that yogins had a strong interest in the healing effects of many Yoga techniques. Indeed, the theme of healing diseases was important in the transmission and promotion of the tradition. The particularity of certain benefits suggests that some of this information had a practical value for yogins and it may have derived from actual observations and testimony.

vedic texts. Cf. *Carakasamhitā*, *Sūtrasthāna*, 9.4a विकारो धातुवैषम्यम्. The definition धातुवैषम्य is also used as a standard example in Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya texts. It does not originate in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* but in early Ayurvedic literature. I am grateful to Dominik Wujastyk for this added information, as well as for suggesting that a prehistory of this definition of disease is possible in the *Tripitaka*.

⁶⁶ *Liṅgapurāṇa*: 1.9.4, *Vāyavīyaśaṃhitā*: 7.2.38.3, p. 406. I wish to thank Philipp

Maas and Christèle Barois for pointing out these two references to me.

⁶⁷ In the *Śārīrasthāna* of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (5.12), four separate networks (*jāla*) are mentioned in the muscle (*māṃsa*), channels (*sirā*), sinews (*snāyu*) and bones (*asthi*).

⁶⁸ On the date of the *Parākhyatantra*, see Dominic Goodall 2004: xlviii–lviii.

⁶⁹ *Parākhyatantra* 14.52 (आलंबनं वपुस्तस्य सि-
राजालावतानितं । निरालम्बो न योगोऽपि भवेत्तत्फलसा-
धकः). Edition and translation by Dominic Goodall (2004: 367).

Nonetheless, the frequency of grandiose rhetorical statements, such as “this Yoga will cure all diseases,” indicates that the passages on benefits were also written to promote the type of Yoga being taught.⁷⁰

3. THEORY

IF THE AUTHOR OF A YOGA TEXT incorporated descriptions of physiology that rely on Ayurvedic terminology and theories, as seen in the *Brhatṭrayī*, this might provide more robust evidence for the use of specialized Ayurvedic knowledge in a Yoga tradition. This type of evidence is rare in the early corpus and difficult to trace because these texts do not reveal their sources. Furthermore, although some texts of the early corpus have descriptions of digestion and vital points (*marman*) that are conceptually similar to Ayurvedic physiology, there are also enough significant differences to suggest a non-medical source, as will be seen in the examples taken from the *Yogayājñavalkya* and the *Amṛtasiddhi*. In contrast to this, some texts of the late corpus, such as the *Yuktabhavadēva* and the *Haṭha-saṅketacandrikā*, quote Ayurvedic texts explicitly or contain passages which can be proven to derive from them. These instances provide more solid ground for assessing how and why these authors combined Ayurvedic theory with Yoga.

FIRE, DIGESTIVE FIRE AND DIGESTION

Nearly all of the Yoga texts in the corpus refer frequently to a yogin’s inner fire (*agni*, *anala*, *vahni*, etc.). It is clear from expressions, such as *jaṭharāgni*, that this fire is located in the abdomen.⁷¹ Many Haṭhayogic practices are credited with increasing the body’s heat,⁷² and the fact that it can result in Rājayoga, which is the goal of Haṭhayoga,⁷³ signifies the important role of a yogin’s inner fire in the soteriology of premodern Yoga traditions.

Descriptions of digestion tend to occur in explanations of the mundane benefits afforded by the practice of Yoga. A good example is found in the *Amṛta-siddhi*, which is the earliest known text to teach the three *mudrās* (i.e., *mahāmudrā*,

⁷⁰ Expressions such as “it removes all diseases” (*sarvarogahara*), “it destroys all illness” (*sarvavyādhivinaśana*) and so on are common in both the early and late corpuses.

⁷¹ Various Yoga texts of both the early and late corpus describe the location of this fire; e.g., *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* 139, *Vivekamārtanḍa* 135ab, etc.

⁷² In the *Haṭhapradīpikā* alone, the increasing of fire in the body is mentioned nearly

a dozen times and is expressed variously as follows: *jaṭharapradīpti* 1.27, *udayaṃ jaṭharānalasya* 1.29, *janayati jaṭharāgniṃ* 1.31, *analasya pradīpanam* 2.20, *dahanapradīptam* 2.29, *mandāgnisandīpana* 2.35, *dehānalavivardhana* 2.52, *śarīrāgnivivardhana* 2.65, *agnidīpana* 2.78, *atyantapradīptaḥ* [...] *jvalanaḥ* 3.66, *jaṭharāgnivivardhinī* 3.79.

⁷³ See *Haṭhapradīpikā* 1.1–2, 67, 2.76, etc.

mahābandha and *mahāvedha*) that became central to the practice of Hāthayoga.⁷⁴ According to the *Amṛtasiddhi*, the practice of these *mudrās* stimulates digestive fire, which initiates a chain reaction of increasing nutrient fluid, then bodily constituents (*dhātu*) and finally the foremost vital fluid, which in this text is probably semen.⁷⁵ This process leads to a number of mundane benefits.⁷⁶ A more detailed

⁷⁴ See Mallinson 2016.

⁷⁵ The other possibility is *ojas*. However, the *Amṛtasiddhi* does not mention *ojas* elsewhere and semen (*bindu*) is important for both its metaphysics and practice (i.e., semen retention). Also, the *Gorakṣayogaśāstra*, which might have borrowed from the *Amṛtasiddhi* or an intermediary source (e.g., *Gorakṣayogaśāstra* (MS) 5, 13ab = *Amṛtasiddhi* 3.1, 6.11ab; *Gorakṣayogaśāstra* (MS) 43 ~ *Amṛtasiddhi* 7.20), describes a similar process that ends in semen: “Having contracted the root of the anus, [placing] the chin on the chest, closing the nine doors, filling the lungs with the breath, one causes [the breath] to move through all the channels and the body’s fire to blaze. Because of the constant blazing of the fire, food and the like are cooked. The constant cooking of the food, etc., increases nutrient fluid. Because of its essence, [nutrient fluid] is in one’s seed. It supports semen and nothing else” (आकुञ्च्य गुडमूलं तु चिबुकं हृदयोपरि । नवद्वाराणि संयम्य कुक्षिमापूर्य वायुना ॥ १७ ॥ चारणं सर्वनाडीनां देहवह्निः प्रदीपनम् । वह्नेः प्रदीपनान्नित्यं अन्नादेः पाचनं भवेत् ॥ १८ ॥ अन्नादेः पाचनान्नित्यं रसवृद्धिः प्रजायते । स्वभावाद्बीज एवासौ बिन्दु विभर्ति नान्यथा ॥ १९ ॥

19d बिन्दुं] emend. बिन्दु MS Kathmandu NAK S 332 (microfilm A1333/20)).

⁷⁶ “Just as treasure is pointless for those who are not inclined to use it, the [three] *mudrās* are certainly so for those who have abandoned their practice [of them]. Having realised this, wise men should always practise [them]. From the practice, Yoga arises, and from Yoga, everything is accomplished. Having assumed the first *mudrā* and having applied the two locks very firmly, [the yogin] should tap the three [main] channels of the body. Then, remaining steady, he should tap the hips with the penis seal.

Having stopped the flow of the breaths and having performed inhalations and retentions, the yogin should undertake [this] practice in order to increase all enjoyments. By this means of practising day and night, uninterruptedly, every three hours, in every way, the breath becomes tamed. Because of taming the breath [thus], the fire in the body increases every day. When the fire is increasing, food is cooked easily. By cooking the food, nutrient fluid increases. When the nutrient fluid has constantly increased, then the bodily constituents increase. Owing to the increase in the bodily constituents, the foremost vital fluid increases. When there is an abundance of [this] foremost fluid because of the constant practice of Yoga, the best of yogins becomes nourished, has a firm body and great strength. Because of strength, the great practice of *mahābandha* arises. Because of the great practice of *mahābandha*, nutrient fluid is digested and all humours (*doṣa*), whose waste products are faeces and urine, are removed.” (*Amṛtasiddhi*: 14.3–12: यथाप्रयोगशीलानां निधिश्च निःफला भवेत् । तथाभ्यासविहीनानां तत्त्वं च निष्फलं ध्रुवं ॥ एवं बुद्ध्या सदाभ्यासः कर्तव्यः सात्त्विकैर्नरैः । अभ्यासादुजायते योगो योगात्सर्वं प्रसिध्यति ॥ धृत्वा प्राथमिकीं मुद्रां कृत्वा बन्धौ महाद्वौ । आस्फालनं ततः कुर्याच्छरीरस्य त्रिमार्गतः ॥ पुनरास्फालनं कट्याः स्थिरः पुरुषमुद्रया । वायुनां गतिमावृत्य कृत्वा पूरककुम्भकौ ॥ अभ्यासमारभेद्योगी सर्वोपभोगवृद्धये । दिवारात्रिमविच्छिन्नं यामे यामे यथा तथा ॥ अनेनाभ्यासयोगेन वायुरभ्यसितो भवेत् । वायोरभ्यासतो वह्निः प्रत्यहं वर्धते तनौ ॥ वह्नौ विवर्धमाने च सुखमन्नस्य पाकता । अन्नस्य परिपाकेन रसवृद्धिः प्रजायते ॥ रसे वृद्धिगते नित्यं वर्धन्ते धातवस्तदा । धातोः संवर्धनादेव प्रधानो वर्धते रसः । प्रधानरससंपत्तौ सतताभ्यासयोगतः । पुष्टो भवति योगीन्द्रो दृढकायो महाबलः ॥ महाबन्धमहाभ्यासो बलादेव प्रजायते । महाबन्धमहाभ्यासाद्रसस्य जरणं भवेत् ॥ शुष्यन्ति सर्वदोषाश्च मलमूत्रकषायकाः ।) In

description of digestion occurs in the *Yogayājñavalkya*. Unlike the *Hatḥapradīpikā* and most of the other texts of the early corpus, the *Yogayājñavalkya* contains explanatory passages on metaphysical terms, such as the breath (*prāṇa*), the body's fire (*mātariśva*), *kuṇḍalinī* and so on. After locating the fire at the centre of the body and describing it as a triangular site of flames shining like molten gold,⁷⁷ the process of digestion is then described as follows:

Water, food and its flavours are made wholesome in the stomach. When *prāṇa* has moved into the stomach, it separates them out again.⁷⁸ Then, it puts the water on the fire and the food, etc., above the water. Having naturally reached [the place of] *apāna*, *prāṇa* along with *apāna*, then fans the fire in the middle of the body. Gradually, the fire is further fanned by *prāṇa* and *apāna*, [until] it then blazes in its abode in the middle of the body. Blazing with flames, the fire fuelled by the *prāṇa* there makes the water in the intestines extremely hot. By means of the hot water, the fire thoroughly cooks the food and the condiments [which were] placed on the water. The water becomes sweat and urine, the nutrient fluid (*rasa*) becomes semen (*vīrya*), and the food becomes faeces. O Gārgī, *prāṇa* makes [them so] one by one. While *prāṇa* along with *samāna* distribute the nutrient fluid in all the channels, *prāṇa* moves in the body by way of the breath. All the winds in the body constantly expel faeces, urine and other [waste matter] through the pores of the skin and nine orifices.⁷⁹

this instance, the term *tattva* refers to the three *mudrās*. In verse 14.2 the three *mudrās* are referred to as *tattvatraya*. The compound *puruṣamudrā* appears to be referring to the penis seal (*liṅgamudrā*), which is mentioned in chapter 13 of the *Amṛtasiddhi*.

⁷⁷ The centre of the body (*dehamadhya*) is defined in *Yogayājñavalkya* 4.14ab as: “two finger-breaths above the anus and two finger-breadths below the penis” (गुदात्तु बङ्गु-लादूर्ध्वम् अधो मेढ्राच्च बङ्गुलात्). The description of the “place of flames” (*śikhishthāna*) is given at *Yogayājñavalkya* 4.11cd-4.12a.

⁷⁸ The location and functions of *prāṇa*, *apāna* and *samāna* are mentioned in *Yogayājñavalkya* 4.47–58ab, which precedes the description of digestion. For further information on the bodily winds, see Zysk 1993.

⁷⁹ *Yogayājñavalkya* 4.58cd–66 (ed. pp. 34–5): तुन्दस्थं जलमन्नं च रसानि च समीकृतम् ॥ ५८ ॥ तुन्दमध्यगतः प्राणस्तानि कुर्यात्पृथक् पृथक् । पुनरग्नौ जलं स्थाप्य त्वन्नादीनि जलोपरि ॥ ५९ ॥ स्वयं ह्यपानं संप्राप्य तेनैव सह मारुतः । प्रवाति ज्वलनं तत्र देहमध्यगतं पुनः ॥ ६० ॥ वायुना वातितो वह्निरपानेन शनैः शनैः । तदा ज्वलति विप्रेन्द्रे स्वकुले देहमध्यमे ॥ ६१ ॥ ज्वालाभिर्ज्वलनस्तत्र प्राणेन प्रेरितस्ततः । जलमत्युष्णमकरोत्कोष्ठमध्यगतं तदा ॥ ६२ ॥ अन्नं व्यञ्जनसंयुक्तं जलोपरि समर्पितम् । ततः सुपक्वमकरोद्वह्निः सन्तप्तवारिणा ॥ ६३ ॥ स्वेदमूत्रे जलं स्यातां वीर्यरूपं रसो भवेत् । पूरीषमन्नं स्याद्वाग्निं प्राणः कुर्यात्पृथक्पृथक् ॥ ६४ ॥ समानवायुना सार्धं रसं सर्वासु नाडीषु । व्यापयच्छ्वासरूपेण देहं चरति मारुतः ॥ ६५ ॥ लोमरन्ध्रैश्च नवभिः विष्णूनादिविसर्जनम् । कुर्वन्ति वायवः सर्वे शरीरे सुनिरन्तरम् ॥ ६६ ॥ 66a लोमरन्ध्रैश्च] conj. : व्योमरन्ध्रैश्च Ed. 66d शरीरे सुनिरन्तरम्] conj. शरीरेषु निरन्तरम् Ed.

This passage contains the salient features of various accounts of digestion in Ayurvedic works. These include the role of the bodily winds in ingesting food, fanning the digestive fire, distributing the nutrient fluid and excreting waste, as well as the cooking of food in the stomach to produce both nutrient fluid and waste. However, a closer comparison with Ayurvedic descriptions of digestion reveals that the *Yogayājñavalkya*'s is a rather simplified and even somewhat crude account. For example, the early seventh-century *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* narrates how food is transformed as it is cooked, first becoming sweet, then acidic and pungent. The cooking process produces phlegm, bile and wind at different stages. Also, five elemental fires, which correspond to the five elemental aspects of food, cook the food to nourish the body's five elements. The resulting nutrient fluid is further cooked by seven fires in sequence, one for each of the seven bodily constituents (*dhātu*), which are nourished in turn. And each bodily constituent produces its own type of waste.⁸⁰ This level of sophistication is absent in descriptions of digestion in the early corpus.

However, unlike the *Amṛtasiddhi*, the *Yogayājñavalkya* explains digestion without directly connecting it to the practice of Yoga. The *Yogayājñavalkya* is a compilation and much of it is based on the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*. In fact, the former borrowed over two hundred and fifty verses from the latter.⁸¹ By following the parallel verses in both texts, it is clear that the *Yogayājñavalkya*'s passage on digestion has been inserted into a large block of text taken verbatim from the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, as shown in Table 1.

One might ask why the redactor of the *Yogayājñavalkya* inserted a description of digestion towards the end of this chapter, which culminates in teaching a method for purifying the channels (*nāḍīsuddhi*). Both the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and the *Yogayājñavalkya* claim that *nāḍīsuddhi* ignites the fire situated in the abdomen,⁸² and both teach it as a preliminary practice to holding the breath (*prāṇāyāma*). As a preparatory practice, it results in only mundane benefits, whereas the practice of *prāṇāyāma* raises *kuṇḍalinī* and takes the yogin to the goal of liberation.⁸³ Therefore, as was the case with the *Amṛtasiddhi*, the redactor of the *Yogayājñavalkya* provided a theoretical explanation for the mundane benefits of *nāḍīsuddhi*,

80 See the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*: Śā.3.54–64. Sanderson (1999: 38–42) has produced an annotated translation of this passage, which he says partly reproduces and partly paraphrases *Carakasamhitā*: Ci.15.5–19. He also translates the description of digestion in the *Bhāvaprakāśa* (2.193–213), which adds further detail to the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*'s account.

81 See p.28 of the introduction to the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* edition.

82 It is worth noting the slight variation between their readings: *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*: 2.68cd: [...] दीसिजेठराग्निविवर्धनम्. Cf. *Yogayājñavalkya*: 5.21: [...] दीसिर्वहेर्जठरवर्तिनः.

83 *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* 3.49–56 and *Yogayājñavalkya* 6.69–82.

<i>Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā</i> verse numbers	<i>Yogayājñavalkya</i> verse numbers	Topic
2.6–7	4.9–10	The length of the body and the sphere of <i>prāṇa</i>
2.8–10	4.11–15	Description and location of the fire in the body
2.11–18	4.16–24	The <i>kanda</i> , <i>mūlacakra</i> and <i>kuṇḍalinī</i>
2.19–41	4.25–46	<i>Suṣumnā</i> and fourteen other channels (<i>nāḍī</i>)
2.42–49	4.47–57	The five principal bodily winds (<i>vāyu</i>)
omitted	4.58–66	Digestion
2.50–54	4.67–71	The five secondary bodily winds
2.55–69	4.71–72 5.3–22	Purification of the channels (<i>nāḍīśuddhi</i>)

Table 1: A comparison of passages from the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and the *Yogayājñavalkya*.

which is generally consistent with the Ayurvedic notion that digestive fire is essential for the optimal functioning of the body.⁸⁴ The compilatory nature of the *Yogayājñavalkya* indicates that its passage on digestion was probably borrowed from somewhere. However, the simplicity of it in relation to descriptions of digestion in Ayurvedic texts suggests that the source was probably not a work on Ayurveda.

YOGI-PHYSICIANS AND HUMORAL THEORY

A possible source of the *Yogayājñavalkya*'s passage on digestion is hinted at in its eighth chapter. The topic of this chapter is concentration (*dhāraṇā*) on the five elements, the description of which is similar to *dhāraṇā* in some earlier Tantras.⁸⁵ In addition to its own teachings on this topic, the *Yogayājñavalkya* mentions another

84 For example, *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, *Sūtrasthāna* 15.41: "One whose humours, digestive fire and the functioning of the bodily constituents and impurities are [all] in equilibrium; whose self, sense organs and mind are serene is called healthy" (समदोषः समग्रिश्च समधातुमलक्रियः । प्रसन्नात्मेन्द्रियमनाः स्वस्था इत्यभिधीयते). Various foods, drugs and treatments that increase digestive fire (*agnidīpana*) are mentioned throughout Ayurvedic works (e.g., *Carakasamhitā*, *Cikitsāsthāna* 3.151, 8123–33,

15.141–215). For further information on digestion in Ayurvedic works, see Jolly 1977; Das 2003; Dominik Wujastyk 2003a, etc.

85 The Tantric practice of *dhāraṇā* is described in *Svacchandatantra* 7.299cd–302ab, which is adapted from the *Nisvāsa's Nayasūtra* 4.114–115 (Dominic Goodall et al. 2015: 394). There is a more sophisticated practice of *dhāraṇā* in the *Mālinīvijayottara-tantra* (Vasudeva 2004: 297, 307–29).

group of yogins who claimed to unite the self (*ātman*) with the supreme deity by a practice that combined *dhāraṇā* and *prāṇāyāma* with humoral theory. These yogins were considered the best physicians (*bhiṣagvara*) and they believed that their practice derived from the two Aśvins, the divine physicians to the gods. One must wonder whether these yogi-physicians composed texts that have been lost, and whether the *Yogayājñavalkya*'s passage on digestion was taken from one of their works. All that remains of their teachings is the following brief report in the *Yogayājñavalkya*. It is a rare example from a premodern Yoga text of a true synthesis between the practice of Yoga and humoral theory:

However, in regard to this goal [of seeing the supreme lord], other yogins who are the best knowers of Brahma, the best physicians and highly skilled in [various] Yogas teach that the body certainly consists of the five elements (i.e., earth, water, fire, etc.). Therefore, O Gārgī, it consists of [the humours] wind, bile and phlegm. For all those whose nature is wind and are engaged in all [types of] Yoga, the body becomes dry because of *prāṇāyāma*. However, for those whose nature is bile, the body does not dry quickly. And for those whose nature is phlegm, the body soon becomes sturdy. For one who concentrates on the fire element [in the body], all [diseases] arising from vitiated wind disappear. For one who always concentrates on part earth and part water, phlegmatic and wind diseases soon disappear. For one who always concentrates on part space and part wind, diseases arising from disorders in [all] three humours are certain to disappear. For this purpose, the two Aśvins [who were] the best of physicians taught people how to cure disorders of the three humours simply by *prāṇāyāma*. Therefore, Gārgī, you should always do this practice. While abiding by the [other auxiliaries of Yoga] such as the general observances (*yama*), practise concentration according to the [above] rules.⁸⁶

86 *Yogayājñavalkya*: 8.32–40ab (edition 78–9): अस्मिन्नर्थे वदन्त्यन्ये योगिनो ब्रह्मविद्वराः। भिषग्वरा वरारोहे योगेषु परिनिष्ठिताः॥ शरीरं तावदेवं तु पञ्चभूतात्मकं खलु। तदेतत्तु वरारोहे वातपित्तकफात्मकम्॥ वातात्मकानां सर्वेषां योगेष्वभिरतात्मनाम्। प्राणसंयमनेनैव शोषं याति कलेवरम्॥ पित्तात्मकानां त्वचिरान्न शुष्यति कलेवरम्। कफात्मकानां कायश्च सम्पूर्णस्त्वचिराद्भवेत्॥ धारणं कुर्वतस्त्वग्नौ सर्वे नश्यन्ति वातजाः। पार्थिवांशे जलांशे च धारणं कुर्वतः सदा॥ नश्यन्ति श्ले-

ष्मजा रोगा वातजाश्चाचिरात्तथा। व्योमांशे मारुतांशे च धारणं कुर्वतः सदा॥ त्रिदोषजनिता रोगा विनश्यन्ति न संशयः। अस्मिन्नर्थे तज्जथावृत्तामश्विनौ च भिषग्वरौ॥ प्राणसंयमनेनैव त्रिदोषशमनं नृणाम्। तस्मात्त्वं च वरारोहे नित्यं कर्म समाचर॥ यमादिभिश्च संयुक्ता विधिवद्धारणं कुरु। *Yogayājñavalkya* 8.33–35 are quoted in the *Yogasārasaṅgraha*: 33–34 and attributed to the *Yogasāramañjarī*.

It is possible that some yogins were seen as physicians, who attempted to heal people's diseases by combining Yoga techniques with a basic understanding of humoral theory and disease. If these yogins remained outside the profession of Ayurveda, they may have rivalled Ayurvedic physicians (*vaidyā*) in treating people. Moreover, such rivalry was probably inevitable because of the claims that Yoga cures every disease and results in immortality.⁸⁷ Such claims must have rendered Ayurveda and *rasāyana* largely superfluous to those yogins who believed them. In light of the curative powers of Yoga, it is no surprise that two texts of the early corpus present the guru as a physician whose healing capabilities extended to curing transmigration (*saṃsāra*). One of these, the *Amṛtasiddhi*, begins with the verse:

Salutations to the guru, the physician who cures the ignorance of those who are asleep because of the poison [of *saṃsāra*], by means of the flow of nectar in the form of knowledge.⁸⁸

The above verse bears some resemblance to the opening one of Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā*, which pays homage to the physician who can cure all diseases, including the passions that give rise to delusion.⁸⁹ Therefore, any rivalry between gurus of Yoga and physicians in healing mundane diseases appears to have extended to curing the obstacles to liberation. It would seem that premodern Yoga and Ayurveda were distinguished not so much by the maladies they attempted to cure but by the methods with which the cure was effected.

VITAL POINTS (MARMAN)

The Early Corpus

The seventh chapter of the *Yogayājñavalkya* describes two methods of sensory withdrawal (*pratyāhāra*) which incorporate vital points.⁹⁰ The first is taken ver-

87 Such rivalry is also evinced in the *Amarauḥaprabodha*, which questions the claims of vaidyas and asserts that *saṃādhi* cures all diseases. See footnote 141.

88 *Amṛtasiddhi*: 1.2: अज्ञानं विषनिद्राणां ज्ञानपी-
यूषधारया। निहतं येन वैद्येन तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः. Cf.
Yogatārāvalī: 1, in which the guru is likened
to a toxicologist who can cure the poison of
saṃsāra. For a translation of this verse, see
Birch 2015: 4 n. 2.

89 *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā*: Sū.1.1: "Saluta-
tions to the extraordinary physician who

has cured all diseases, such as passion,
which are innate, spread throughout the
whole body and give rise to desire, de-
lusion and restlessness" (रागादिरोगान्सततानु-
षक्तानशेषकायप्रसृतान् अशेषान्। औत्सुक्यमोहारतिदो
जघान योऽपूर्ववैद्याय नमोऽस्तु तस्मै). There is
evidence that the "extraordinary physician"
here should be understood to be the Buddha
(HIML: 1A: 604–6).

90 A translation of this practice in the *Yoga-
yājñavalkya* is found in Birch and Hargreaves
2015: 2.3

batim from the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*,⁹¹ which probably borrowed it from the *Vimānārcanākalpa*, a Vaikhānasa text that could date to the ninth century.⁹² All three texts contain the same list of eighteen vital points (*marmān*), enumerated below, and the same measurements in finger-breadths (*aṅgula*) of the distances between each of these points. The method is very simple and is described in a single verse:

[The yogin] should make the breath go into these points and hold [them in each one] by means of the mind. By moving [the breath] from point to point, he performs *pratyāhāra*.⁹³

Comparing the eighteen vital points of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* et al., with those of earlier Ayurvedic works does not yield a positive result. The *Suśrutasamhitā* (Śā.6) and the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* (Śā.4) describe one hundred and seven vital points but, as seen in Table 2, only half correspond with the Yogic ones in terms of location.⁹⁴ The main problem in determining further correspondences is that the locations of the vital points in the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* et al., are less specific than the more detailed descriptions of vital points in the Ayurvedic texts. For example, the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* et al. simply mention the big toes (*pādāṅguṣṭha*) but the closest point in Ayurveda is called *kṣīpra*, which is situated between the first and second toe of each foot.⁹⁵ In the case of the neck, the Yogic sources refer to the pit of the throat (*kaṇṭhakūpa*), but Suśruta mentions four vital points called *dhamanī* on either side of the trachea (*kaṇṭhanāḍī*) and eight called *mātrkā* on either side of the neck.⁹⁶ If one takes these differences into account, then only nine of the vital

91 *Yogayājñavalkya*: 7.1–21ab = *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*: 3.57–74. The apparent discrepancy in the number of verses is caused by the numbering in the edition of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, which, in this section, has several verses with six *pādas*.

92 Gérard Colas considers the *Vimānārcanākalpa* to be one of the earliest texts of the Vaikhānasa *Samhitā* corpus, which he dates between the 9th and 13th–14th centuries (Colas 2012: 158). There is no firm *terminus a quo* for the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, although the editors of the text argue for a post-12th century date, based on the absence of citations in earlier works in which they expected to find it. The *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*'s *terminus ad quem* is the *Yogayājñavalkya*, which predates the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (15th century). Therefore, one might tentatively date the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* between the 12th–13th centuries and thus, it is possible that the

Vimānārcanākalpa is older than the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and a source text for it.

93 *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*: 3.74 = *Yogayājñavalkya*: 7.20cd–21cd (edition 76): स्थानेष्वेतेषु मनसा वायुमारोष्य धारयेत् ॥ ७.२० ॥ स्थानात्स्थानात्स-माकृष्य प्रत्याहारं प्रकुर्वतः.

94 The *Carakasamhitā*: Śā.7.14 mentions that there are one hundred and seven vital points, but does not enumerate them. The entire chapter on *marmans* in the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* has been translated and discussed in Dominik Wujastyk 2003a: 201 f., 236–44.

95 *Suśrutasamhitā*: Śā.6.24: (पादस्याङ्गुष्ठाङ्गुल्योर्मध्ये क्षिप्रं).

96 *Suśrutasamhitā*: Śā.6.27: (तत्र कण्ठनाडीमुभयतश्चतस्रो धमन्यो द्वे नीले द्वे च मन्ये व्यत्यासेन, [...] ग्रीवायामुभयतश्चतस्रः सिरा मातृकाः). In 6.6, it states that there are four *dhamanī* and eight *mātrkā* ([...] चतस्रो धमन्योऽष्टौ मातृका [...]).

points in the *Suśrutasamhitā* and *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā* have identical locations to those in the *Vasiṣṭhasamhitā* et al.

The most telling evidence that the vital points of the *Vasiṣṭhasamhitā* et al., were not derived from Ayurvedic sources is that they do not adopt the special names of Ayurvedic points, like *indravasti* or *sthapanī*. If Ayurveda were the inspiration behind Yogic points, one must wonder why only eighteen of the one hundred and seven known to Ayurvedic doctors were included. There is no qualifying statement that these eighteen Yogic points are more important than the others in Ayurveda. Furthermore, the *Vasiṣṭhasamhitā* et al., omit much of the sophisticated details of the vital points in Ayurvedic texts. For example, the *Suśrutasamhitā* provides the measurements of the width of each point; most are half a finger breadth, but others are up to four finger breadths.⁹⁷ Also, the Ayurvedic texts divide the vital points into groups depending on their relation to the body's anatomy. For example, the *Suśrutasamhitā* divides its vital points into five groups; points in the flesh (*māṃsamarmān*), the blood vessels (*sirāmarmān*), the sinews (*snāyumarmān*), the bones (*asthimarmān*) and the joints (*sandhimarmān*).⁹⁸ One would expect some of this information to have found its way into the *Vasiṣṭhasamhitā* et al., had their authors consulted Ayurvedic works.

In light of the above discrepancies between the *Vasiṣṭhasamhitā* et al. and Ayurvedic sources and given the contents of the former derive from tantric and ascetic traditions, it is more likely that the list of vital points in the *Vasiṣṭhasamhitā* et al. derives from such traditions, rather than an Ayurvedic one. The ascetic background is attested by the fact that this practice is found in the *Vimānārcanākalpa*, which was written by the Vaikhānasas, a community of hermits who performed the domestic rites of the Vaikhānasa Vedic school.⁹⁹ Other possible sources include earlier Tantric traditions which taught methods of concentration (*dhāraṇā*) and meditation (*dhyāna*) that required a practitioner to hold the breath or mind on points in the body, which are sometimes called supports (*ādhāra*). The eleventh-century Kashmiri exegete Kṣemarāja provided two lists of supports in his commentary (*uddṇya*) on the *Netratāntra* (7.1), in a section on meditation on the subtle body (*sūkṣmadhyāna*), which is the second of three methods for cheating death. As seen in Table 2, twelve of the supports in the first list are almost identical with vital points in the *Vasiṣṭhasamhitā* et al.¹⁰⁰ A similar list of bodily locations is given for the practice of concentration

97 *Suśrutasamhitā*: Śā.6.28–29.

98 *Suśrutasamhitā*: Śā.6.4.

99 Colas 2012: 158.

100 Kṣemarāja introduces the second list by stating that it is a Kaula practice (*ku-*

laprakriyā). In a subsequent comment (*Netratāntra*: 7.16), he distinguishes a meditation on the subtle body (*sūkṣmadhyāna*), which utilizes the supports (*ādhāra*) taught in the Kaula practice, from a meditation on the

(*dhāraṇā*) in the chapter on Yoga in the *Śāradātilakatantra* (25.23–25), which was probably composed in Orissa in the twelfth-century. This list appears to be derived from a similar one in the *Prapañcasāraṇatantra*, another Orissan work that has been dated to the same century.¹⁰¹

A Yoga text which is unlikely to predate the *Vimānārcaṇākālpa* and *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, but is nonetheless important to consider here is the *Kṣurikopaniṣat*, a so-called Yoga Upaniṣad that was written before the fourteenth century because it is cited in Śaṅkarānanda's *Ātmapurāṇa*.¹⁰² It describes a practice of sensory withdrawal (*pratyāhāra*) in which ten bodily locations are mentioned.¹⁰³ The technique resembles that of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* et al., in so far as the yogin is instructed to focus the mind and hold the breath on ten bodily locations, which correspond to ten of the eighteen vital points in the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* et al. However, the *Kṣurikopaniṣat* does not call these locations either vital points (*marman*) or supports (*ādhāra*), and its practice of sensory withdrawal goes no higher than the throat.¹⁰⁴

Various premodern Yoga texts contain references to the sixteen supports (*ādhāra*).¹⁰⁵ Table 2 includes those of the sixteenth-century *Śivayogapradīpikā* (3.17–32), whose passage on meditation on the supports was quoted in the *Yogacintāmaṇi* (pp. 112–14) and was the basis for further descriptions in the more recent *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* (2.11–25), *Yogataraṅgiṇī* (13) and Rāmacandra's *Tattvabinduṣaṅgī* (ff. 13v–15v).

subtle body with supports taught for Tantric practice ([...] कौलिकप्रक्रियोक्ताधारादिभेदेन सूक्ष्मध्यानमुत्त्वा, स्थूलयुक्तिक्रमेण तन्त्रप्रक्रियोक्ताधारादिभेदेन [...] सूक्ष्मध्यानं वक्तुमुपक्रमते). This suggests that the first list (included in Table 2) is from a Tantric tradition.

¹⁰¹ Sanderson 2007: 230–33.

¹⁰² Bouy 1994: 31 n. 118.

¹⁰³ *Kṣurikopaniṣat*: 6–11ab.

¹⁰⁴ The *Kṣurikopaniṣat*: 11cd–20 also describes concentration (*dhāraṇā*) on three vital points (*marman*) and various channels (*nāḍī*). The locations of the three vital points are somewhat obscure, the exception being one in the middle of the shank (*jaṅghā*), the cutting of which is called *Indravajra*. It is possible that this name was inspired by the name of the Ayurvedic vital point *Indravasti*,

which is also located in the middle of the shank. However, beyond this, there is no evidence to suggest that the *Kṣurikopaniṣat* was inspired by Ayurvedic theory or praxis.

¹⁰⁵ For example, *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 3.72, *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā*: 3.12, *Yogacūḍāmaṇyupaniṣat*: 3.

¹⁰⁶ The points inserted in square brackets are from the *Prapañcasāraṇatantra*, which was the source for the list in the *Śāradātilakatantra*. The verse in the *Śāradātilakatantra* is very similar to two verses on the sixteen supports quoted without attribution by Brahmānanda in his commentary (i.e., the *Jyotsnā*) on *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 3.73 (अङ्गुष्ठगुल्फ-जानूरीवनीलिङ्गनाभयः। हृद्दीवा कण्ठदेशश्च लम्बिका नासिका तथा॥ भ्रूमध्यं च ललाटे च मूर्धा च ब्रह्मरन्ध्र-कम्। एते हि षोडशाधाराः कथिता योगिपुङ्गवैः)

	<i>Yogayājñavalkya, Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā & Vimānārcanākālpa (marman)</i>	<i>Suśruta- saṃhitā & Aṣṭāṅga- hṛdaya (Śārīra- sthāna) (marman)</i>	<i>Netroddyota (ādhāra)</i>	<i>Śāradā- tilaka¹⁰⁶</i>	<i>Śivayoga- pradīpikā (ādhāra)</i>	<i>Kṣurikopa- niṣat</i>
1	Big Toes (<i>pādāṅguṣṭha</i>)	<i>angusṭha</i>	<i>aṅguṣṭha</i>	<i>padāṅguṣṭha</i>	<i>aṅguṣṭha</i>	
2	Ankles (<i>gulpha</i>)	<i>gulpha</i>	<i>gulpha</i>	<i>gulpha</i>	<i>gulpha</i>	
3	Middle of the Shanks (<i>jaṅghāmadhya</i>)	<i>indravasti</i>				<i>jaṅghā</i>
4	Base of the [Tibial] mass (<i>citimūla</i>)					
5	Middle of the Knees (<i>jānumadhyā</i>)	<i>jānu</i>	<i>jānu</i>	<i>jānu</i>		<i>jānu</i>
6	Middle of the Thighs (<i>ūrumadhyā</i>)	<i>urvī</i>		<i>ūru</i>		<i>ūru</i>
7	Root of the Anus (<i>pāyumuḷa</i>)	<i>guda</i>	<i>pāyu</i>	[<i>guda</i>]	<i>guda¹⁰⁷</i>	<i>guda</i>
8	Middle of the body (<i>dehamadhyā</i>)					
9	Penis (<i>meḍhra</i>)		<i>meḍhra</i>	<i>liṅga [meḍhra]</i>	<i>meḍhra</i>	<i>śīśna</i>
10	Navel (<i>nābhi</i>)	<i>nābhi</i>	<i>jaṭhara</i>	<i>nābhi</i>	<i>nābhi</i>	<i>nābhi</i>
11	Heart (<i>hṛdaya</i>)	<i>hṛdaya</i>	<i>hṛd</i>	<i>hṛdaya</i>	<i>hṛd</i>	<i>hṛdaya</i>
12	Pit of the throat (<i>kaṇṭhakūpa</i>)		<i>kaṇṭha</i>	<i>kaṇṭha</i>	<i>kaṇṭha</i>	<i>kaṇṭha</i>
13	Root of the Palate (<i>tālumūla</i>)		<i>tālu</i>		<i>tālumūla</i>	
14	Base of the Nose (<i>nāsāmūla</i>)			<i>nasi [nāsā]</i>	<i>ghrāṇāmūla¹⁰⁸</i>	
15	Eyeballs (<i>akṣimaṇḍala</i>)				<i>netra</i>	
16	Middle of the Brow (<i>bhrūmadhyā</i>)	<i>sthapanī</i>	<i>bhrūmadhyā</i>	<i>bhrūmadhyā</i>	<i>bhrūva</i>	
17	Forehead (<i>lalāṭa</i>)		<i>lalāṭa</i>	[<i>lalāṭāgra</i>]	<i>lalāṭa</i>	
18	[Crown of] the Head (<i>mūrdhan</i>).	<i>adhipati</i>	<i>brahma- randhra</i>	<i>mūrdhan</i>		

Table 2: Comparison of Lists of Vital Points.

¹⁰⁷ I have adopted the reading *gudādhāraṇi* from the edition of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* (p. 112) rather than the edition of the *Śivayogapradīpikā*, which has *tathādhāraṇi*.

¹⁰⁸ The reading *ghrāṇāmūlaṇi* is from the *Yogacintāmaṇi* (p. 113). The edition of the *Śivayogapradīpikā* has *prāṇāmūlaṇi*.

The vital points of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* et al., correspond to as many if not more of the supports in Tantric and Yogic sources than to the vital points of Ayurveda. There are certain points, such as the abdomen (*nābhi*), heart (*hṛdaya*), middle of the brows (*bhrūmadhya*) and crown of the head (*mūrdhan*), which are probably universal to south-Asian conceptions of the human body. Other points such as the big toes (*padāṅguṣṭha*), penis (*medhṛa*), throat (*kaṇṭha*), palate (*tālu*) and forehead (*lalāṭa*) are prominent in the bodily conceptions and practices of Yoga traditions. However, there are two points that distinguish the list of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* et al.: the base of the tibial mass (*citimūla*)¹⁰⁹ and the middle of the body (*dehamadhyā*), which are shown in red in Table 2.¹¹⁰ The absence of these points

109 According to *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*: 3.66cd–67ab, the *citimūla* is located eleven finger breadths from the middle of the shank and only two and a half finger breadths from the knee (जङ्घमध्याच्चित्तेर्मूलं यत्तदेकादशाङ्गुलम्। चितिमूलान्मुनिश्रेष्ठ जानुं सार्धाङ्गुलद्वयम्). *Yogayājñavalkya*: 7.13 is almost the same, except for a slight variation in the fourth *pāda*, which could be a corruption (जानुः स्यादङ्गुलिद्वयम्). The *Vimānārcanākālpa* provides measurements between the points, but the text is corrupt because it omits the knee, thigh and anus, which yields the implausible statement that the *citimūla* is three and half finger breadths from the middle of the body: ततो दशाङ्गुलं जङ्घमध्यं, ततो दशाङ्गुलं चितिमूलं, तदर्धाधिकं त्र्यङ्गुलं देहमध्यं [...]॥

[चितिमूलं] corr. : चिदिमूलं Ed.). Therefore, the readings of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and the *Yogayājñavalkya* are more reliable. According to them, *citimūla* is on the upper shank, but this does not indicate whether it is the anterior or posterior side. I am yet to find the term *citimūla* in the context of the body's anatomy in another Sanskrit work, with the exception of a verse in the *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā*: 2.14–15: “The two ankles are crossed and upturned beneath the scrotum; both *citimūla* are on the ground and the hands are on the knees. With mouth open and the Jalandhara [lock in place, the yogin] should look at the tip of the nose. This is the lion's pose, the destroyer of all diseases” (गुल्फौ च वृषणस्याधो व्युत्क्रमेणोर्ध्वतां गतौ। चितिमूलौ भूमिसंस्थौ

करो च जानुनोपरि । व्यात्तवक्रौ जलन्धरेण नासाग्रमवलोकयेत्। सिंहासनं भवेदेतत्सर्वव्याधिविनाशकम्). In *Simhāsana*, the ankles are crossed, thus raising the shank of one leg from the ground. If *citimūla* is below the knee, it must be the upper, anterior part of both shanks that touch the ground. Seeing that the term *citi* can mean a “mass” or, perhaps in this case, a bony protrusion on the upper shank, it is possible that *citimūla* refers to the anterior region of the upper shank known in modern anatomy as the tibial tuberosity.

110 Both the *Yogayājñavalkya* (7.15) and the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* (3.68cd–69ab) locate the middle of the body (*dehamadhyā*) as two and a half finger breadths from the anus and two and a half finger breadths from the penis (देहमध्यं तथा पायोर्मूलादर्धाङ्गुलद्वयम्। देहमध्यात्तथा मेढ्रं तद्वत्सार्धाङ्गुलद्वयम्). This measurement is missing in the *Vimānārcanākālpa*. This point is distinct from the navel, which is generally said to be the middle of the body in other Sanskrit works; e.g., *Sarvajñānottaratantra*: 30.10 (तत्र शरीरमध्ये नाभिः). The same precise location of the middle of the body in the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, et al. is found in other Sanskrit works, such as *Ahīrbudhnyasaṃhitā*: 32.5 (श्रूयतां पायुदेशात्तु बङ्गुलात्परतः परम्। मेढ्रदेशादधस्तात्तु बङ्गुलान्मध्य उच्यते) and Sureśvarācārya's *Mānasollāsa* 5.12 (देहस्य मध्यमं स्थानं मूलाधार इतीर्यते। गुदात्तु बङ्गुलादूर्ध्वं मेढ्रात्तु बङ्गुलादधः). The middle of the body is included as a vital point in

in Ayurvedic and Tantric literature suggests that they derive from an undocumented tradition, perhaps, of ascetic or even martial origin.¹¹¹

The Late Corpus

The most extensive account of vital points (*marman*) in the context of Yoga occurs in one of the texts of the late corpus. The *Yuktabhavadēva* by the seventeenth-century Bhavadēvamiśra is a digest (*nibandha*) that integrated teachings of Rāja and Hāṭhayoga with those of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* and various Upaniṣads, Purāṇas, Tantras, Dharmaśāstras and the Epics. Apart from the fact that Bhavadēva cited a wide range of Sanskrit works, the breadth of his learning is attested by the commentaries attributed to him on various *śāstras*.¹¹²

The third chapter of the *Yuktabhavadēva* begins by stating that the preservation of the body is useful for Yoga, and that what belongs to the body (*śārīra*) is for the sake of cultivating detachment (*vairāgya*) and attaining knowledge of creation (*śṛṣṭi*) and so on.¹¹³ A general discussion on the body ensues, drawing on Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṅkhyakārikā*,¹¹⁴ Sureśvarācārya's *Mānasollāsa*,¹¹⁵ the *Mahābhārata*'s *Mokṣadharmā*, the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*,¹¹⁶ the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* and Yāska's *Nirukta*.¹¹⁷ Having quoted a passage from the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, which describes the various

some more recent works. For example, the *Prāṇavacintāmaṇi* (quoted with attribution in the *Yogasārasaṅgraha* p. 32) has a slightly shorter list that probably derives from the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, et al. (मर्मस्थानानि सर्वाणि शरीरे योगमोक्षयोः॥ वच्यं ह तानि सर्वाणि यथा विज्ञायते तथा। पादाङ्गुष्ठौ च गुल्फौ च मध्ये चोरुद्वयस्य च। पायुश्च गिरिजे पश्चात्मध्ये देहस्य मेढ्रकम्। नाभिश्च हृदयं चैव कण्ठकूपमनुत्तमम्। तालुमूलं च नासायाः मूलमक्ष्णोश्च मण्डले। भ्रुवोर्मध्यं ललाटे च मूर्ध्ना सर्वसुरार्चिते। नासायाः] corr. : नासायां ed.).

¹¹¹ I am also aware that not all Ayurvedic vital points are mentioned in the main lists of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*. In fact, both Caraka and Suśruta allude to others when discussing certain diseases (Das 2003: 568). For information on the use of *marman* points in martial traditions, see Zarrilli 1998.

¹¹² Bibliographic information in colophons indicates that Bhavadēvamiśra authored commentaries on the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* (NCC:16: 172), the *Brahmasūtra* (NCC:15: 12), the *Kāvyaaprakāśa* (NCC: 4: 98) and the

Vājasaneyīsaṃhitā (NCC: 28: 60), as well as a work on Dharmaśāstra called the *Dānadharmaprakriyā* (NCC: 9: 6) and another on what appears to be Vaiśeṣika philosophy, the *Vaiśeṣikaratnamālā* (NCC: 32: 64).

¹¹³ *Yuktabhavadēva*: 3.1 (अथ योगोपयोगिशरीररक्षा – वैराग्यसुष्ट्यादिज्ञानार्थं शरीरमुच्यते [...]).

¹¹⁴ *Yuktabhavadēva*: 3.8–9 (तदुक्तं साङ्ख्ये [...]). Verses 40 and 42 of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṅkhyakārikā* are quoted.

¹¹⁵ At *Yuktabhavadēva*: 3.14–18, *Mānasollāsa*: 3.27–31 is quoted. This is the only reference I have found to the *kośas* in a premodern yoga text, and it is based on information from an Advaitavedānta text.

¹¹⁶ At *Yuktabhavadēva*: 3.30, 33–37, *Mahābhārata*: 12.247.1ab, 3–8 is quoted. At *Yuktabhavadēva*: 3.32, a portion of *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*: 1.1.4 is quoted.

¹¹⁷ At *Yuktabhavadēva*: 3.38, 46–50, 52–53 (तत्र याज्ञवल्क्यः [...]), *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*: 3.71, 76, 80–83, 79 are quoted, and at *Yuktabhavadēva*: 3.39–44, sections of Yāska's *Nirukta*: 14.6 are quoted.

processes that give rise to a foetus (*garbha*) in eight months, Bhavadeva quotes a verse on the body's vital fluid (*ojas*) from a source that he designates only as "tradition" (*smṛti*). It so happens that this verse is from the *Carakasamhitā*, which is the first clear proof in the third chapter that the author had consulted an Ayurvedic work.¹¹⁸

After describing the characteristics of the bodies of various species beginning with snakes, Bhavadeva commences his detailed discussion of the human body's anatomy. The basis of his knowledge on this is the *Suśrutasamhitā*, as demonstrated by the fact that his very first comment, which is on the six sections (*ṣaḍaṅga*) and the subsections (*pratyaṅga*) of the body, is almost identical to that of Suśruta's. The following comparison demonstrates the way in which Bhavadeva redacts sections of the *Suśrutasamhitā*, omitting much detail but covering the salient points of Suśruta's discourse:¹¹⁹

Yuktabhavadeva: 3.59–63

Suśrutasamhitā: Śā.5.3–6, 8, 10–12

तच्च शरीरं षडङ्गम् ॥ शाखाश्च चतस्रोः ॥ मध्यमं पञ्चमं ॥ षष्ठं च शिर इति ॥ ५९ ॥

[...] तच्च षडङ्गं – शाखाश्च चतस्रोः, मध्यं पञ्चमं, षष्ठं शिर इति ॥ ३ ॥

अतः प्रत्यङ्गानि ॥ मस्तकोदरपृष्ठनाभिललाटनासाचिबुकबस्तिग्रीवा एकैकाः ॥ कर्णनेत्रध्रुवोष्ठगण्डकक्षास्तनवृषणपार्श्वस्फिग्जानुबाहुरुप्रभृतयो द्वे द्वे ॥ एवं त्वचः कला धातवो मला दोषा ॥ यकृत्क्षीहानौ फुफुसोण्डुको हृदयमाशयाः ॥ अन्त्राणि वृक्कौ स्रोतांसि कण्डरा जालानि कूर्चा रज्जवः सीवन्यः सङ्घाताः सीमन्ता अस्थीनि सन्धयः स्नायवः पेश्यो सिरा धमन्यो मर्माणि चेति ॥ ६० ॥

अतः परं प्रत्यङ्गानि वक्ष्यन्ते – मस्तकोदरपृष्ठनाभिललाटनासाचिबुकबस्तिग्रीवा इत्येता एकैकाः, कर्णनेत्रध्रुवोष्ठगण्डकक्षास्तनवृषणपार्श्वस्फिग्जानुबाहुरुप्रभृतयो द्वे द्वे, विंशतिरङ्गुलयः, स्रोतांसि वक्ष्यमाणानि, एष प्रत्यङ्गविभाग उक्तः ॥ ४ ॥ तस्य पुनः संख्यानं – त्वचः कला धातवो मला दोषा यकृत्क्षीहानौ फुफुस उण्डुको हृदयमाशया अन्त्राणि वृक्कौ स्रोतांसि कण्डरा जालानि कूर्चा रज्जवः सेवन्यः सङ्घाताः सीमन्ता अस्थीनि सन्धयः स्नायवः पेश्यो मर्माणि सिरा धमन्यो योगवहानि स्रोतांसि च ॥ ५ ॥

तत्र त्वचः सप्त ॥ कलाः सप्त ॥ आशयाः सप्त ॥ धातवः सप्त ॥ त्रयो मलाः ॥ त्रयो दोषाः ॥ यकृदाद्येकैकम् उक्तम् ॥

त्वचः सप्त, कलाः सप्त, आशयाः सप्त, धातवः सप्त, सप्त सिराशतानि, पञ्च पेशीशतानि, नव स्नायुशतानि, त्रीण्यस्थिशतानि, द्वे दशोत्तरे संधिशते, सप्तोत्तरं मर्मशतं, चतुर्-विंशतिर्धमन्यः, त्रयो दोषाः, त्रयो मलाः, नव स्रोतांसि [...] चेति समासः ॥ ६ ॥

118 Yuktabhavadeva: 3.51 (which is introduced with ओजःस्वरूपं प्रोक्तं स्मृत्यन्तरे) = Carakasamhitā: Sū.17.74.

119 The colour red indicates an exact parallel, and blue indicates a parallel with slight deviations.

आशयाः सप्त ॥ वाताशयपित्ताशयश्लेष्माशय- र-
क्ताशयामाशयपक्वाशयमूत्राशयभेदात् ॥ स्त्रीणां ग-
र्भाशयोऽप्यष्टमः ॥ ६१ ॥

[...] आशयास् तु – वाताशयः, पित्ताशयः, श्लेष्मा-
शयो, रक्ताशय, अमाशयः, पक्वाशयो, मूत्राशयः,
स्त्रीणां गर्भाशयोऽष्टम इति ॥ ८ ॥

श्रवणनयनघ्राणोदरमेढ्राणि नव स्रोतांसि ॥ नराणां
त्रीण्युपराण्यपि ॥ द्वे स्तनयोरेकं रसवहम् ॥

[...] श्रवणनयनवदनघ्राणगुदमेढ्राणि नव स्रोतांसि
नराणां बहिर्मुखानि, एतान्येव स्त्रीणाम् अपराणि च
त्रीणि द्वे स्तनयोरधस्ताद्रक्तवहं च ॥ १० ॥

षोडश कण्डराः ॥ हस्तपादग्रीवापृष्ठेषु प्रत्येकं चत-
स्रः ॥ ६२ ॥ तत्र हस्तपादकण्डराणां नखा अग्रप्र-
रोहाः ॥ ग्रीवाकण्डराणां मेढ्रं ॥ पृष्ठकण्डराणां नित-
म्बः ॥

षोडश कण्डराः – तासां चतस्रः पाद-
योः, तावत्यो हस्तग्रीवापृष्ठेषु; तत्र हस्त-
पादगतानां कण्डराणां नखा अग्रप्ररोहाः,
ग्रीवाहृदयनिबन्धिनीनामधोभागगतानां मेढ्रं,
श्रोणिपृष्ठनिबन्धिनीनाम् अधोभागगतानां बिम्बं,
मूर्धोरुवक्षोऽसपिण्डादीनां च ॥ ११ ॥

जालानि षोडश ॥ मांससिरास्त्राय्वस्थिषु प्रत्येकं च-
त्वारि ॥ तानि मणिवन्धगुल्फसंश्रितानि ॥ ६३ ॥

मांससिरास्त्राय्वस्थिजालानि प्रत्येकं चत्वारि च-
त्वारि, तानि मणिवन्धगुल्फसंश्रितानि परस्परनोब-
द्धानि परस्परसंश्लिष्टानि परस्परगवाक्षितानि चेति,
यैर्गवाक्षितमिदं शरीरम् ॥ १२ ॥

Bhavadeva presents a reasonably accurate synopsis of Suśruta's anatomy, although not all of his attempts at truncation are successful.¹²⁰ He covers most of Suśruta's fifth chapter in the *Śārīrasthāna* on the enumeration of the body's contents (*śārīrasaṅkhyā*), the seventh chapter on the seven hundred ducts (*sirā*) in the

120 For example, Suśrutasamhitā: Śā.5.10 enumerates nine apertures (*srotas*) in the human body and states that there are three additional ones for women, two on the breasts and one below (i.e., the vagina) that emits blood. Bhavadeva's list of nine apertures in Yuktabhavadeva: 3.62 appears to be defective. The omission of the mouth (*vadana*) and substitution of the stomach (*udara*) for the anus (*guda*) may be textual corruptions. Although the apparatus of the Lonavla Yoga Institute's edition (Yuktabhavadeva: 65) indicates that all four manuscripts, upon

which it was based, support this reading, it is possible that a scribe omitted accidentally the word *vadana*, and the change of *-ghrāṇagudamedhrāṇi* to *-ghrāṇanodaramedhrāṇi* may have emanated from some initial transposition of ligatures (i.e., *ṇaguda* → *ṇadagu* → *ṇodara*). Nonetheless, Bhavadeva's deliberate attempt to simplify this passage by omitting the mention of women and attributing the three additional apertures to men, the third one conveying nutrient fluid (*rasa*) rather than blood, is a rather clumsy redaction.

body and the ninth chapter on the twenty-four tubes (*dhamanī*), before beginning with the vital points, which are based on the sixth chapter. The textual parallels are unmistakable, although Bhavadeva's tacit borrowing of Suśruta's vital points is a more intricate work of bricolage than his earlier passages on anatomy. This is demonstrated by the example in Table 3.

Yuktabhavadeva: 3.98–100	Suśrutasamhitā Corresponding passages in the Śārīrasthāna
[...] तत्र सद्यःप्राणहराण्याग्नेयानि ॥ ९८ ॥	= 6.16
अग्निगुणेष्वशु क्षीणेषु क्षपयन्ति ॥	≈ 6.16
तानि च ॥ कण्ठधमनिमातृकाश्चङ्गाटकापाङ्गस्थफणिकक्षास्तन- मूलस्तनरोहित	? (an interpolation)
अधिपतिशङ्खगुदहृदयवस्तिनाभिमर्माणि ॥	≈ 6.9
कालान्तरप्राणहराणि सौम्याग्नेयानि ॥ ९९ ॥	= 6.16
अग्निगुणेष्वशु क्षीणेषु क्रमेण सोमगुणेषु कालान्तरेण क्षपय- न्ति ॥ तानि च –	= 6.16
वक्षोमर्माणि सीमन्तास्तलाक्षिमेद्वस्तयः ॥ ६.१०८ ॥	≈ 6.10cd
कटीकतरुणे सन्धिपार्श्वजो बृहतीद्वयम् ॥ नितम्बाविति चैतानि कालान्तरहराणि तु ॥ १०० ॥	= 6.11

Table 4: Comparison of parallel passages in the *Yuktabhavadeva* and *Suśrutasamhitā*.

Throughout the *Yuktabhavadeva*, Bhavadeva quotes his sources with attribution and uses his own commentary to bind the quotations together in a narrative. It is, therefore, rather peculiar that he redacted so much of Suśruta's anatomy without explicitly acknowledging his source. In fact, later in the chapter, Bhavadeva does attribute a quotation to Suśruta, which proves beyond doubt that he was using the *Suśrutasamhitā* and not an intermediary source. However, the irony here is that he cites Suśruta not on the topic of anatomy but on the activities that pregnant women should avoid.¹²¹ On the one hand, this might suggest that he was not as eager to flaunt his use of Ayurvedic texts as he was other Brahmanical and Yogic sources. His use of Ayurvedic sources may have

121 *Yuktabhavadeva*: 3.129–130 (= *Suśruta-*

samhitā: Śā.3.16 and 13).

demonstrated the breadth of his erudition, but he was not compelled, it seems, to cite them as authorities in a compilation on Brahmanical Yoga. However, on the other hand, it may also be the case that Bhavadeva assumed that his audience would know the source of this anatomical information, seeing that the topic was specific to Ayurveda and his borrowing so extensive. The truth of this proposition would depend on how widely known the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* was among educated Brahmins of Maithilā in the seventeenth century.

It should also be noted that Bhavadeva's own commentary on Suśruta's anatomy is conspicuously sparse. Nonetheless, he anticipated the question of how this material might relate to Yoga. Apart from his introductory remarks at the beginning of the chapter,¹²² he states close to the beginning of the section on vital points that yogins should restrain their bodily winds (i.e., *prāṇa*, etc.) in each point.¹²³ Be this as it may, the level of detail on anatomy provided by Bhavadeva seems unnecessary for a yogin. Unlike the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, which contains detailed anatomy for surgical procedures,¹²⁴ Bhavadeva does not integrate detailed anatomy in the *Yuktabhavadeva*'s chapters on Yoga praxis. This is particularly notable in the chapter on *pratyāhāra*, because Bhavadeva was aware of the *Yogayājñavalkya*'s technique of sensory withdrawal involving the vital points.¹²⁵ Rather than refer to Suśruta's vital points or the earlier chapter on anatomy in the *Yuktabhavadeva*, Bhavadeva quotes the *Yogayājñavalkya*'s verses on the vital points which, as demonstrated above, are only superficially related to Ayurveda.

Therefore, Bhavadeva juxtaposed knowledge of Ayurveda and Yoga somewhat awkwardly in the *Yuktabhavadeva*. Indeed, his inclusion of Ayurvedic material in a literary digest on Yoga (*yoganibandha*) reveals more about his audience than his practical knowledge of these subjects. It appears that he was writing for a learned audience who could appreciate a synthesis of scholarly Brahmanical works with the praxis-orientated literature of Haṭha- and Rājayoga.

¹²² See footnote 113.

¹²³ *Yuktabhavadeva*: 3.97. Bhavadeva makes the initial statement, which is found in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: 6.15: "Because [the vital points] are conjunctions of flesh, ducts, ligaments, bones and joints, the bodily winds in particular converge naturally in them" (मांससिरास्त्राय्वस्थिसन्धिसन्निपातैः तेषु स्वभावत एव विशेषेण प्राणास्तिष्ठन्ति). He then comments: "Therefore, yogins should restrain their [bodily winds] in these [points]" (तस्माद्योगिभिस्तेषु ते नियम्याः).

¹²⁴ This is stated explicitly by Suśruta (*Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Śā.6.33) in the chapter that

deals with vital points: "[The experts] teach that the vital points are half the science of surgery, because those harmed in regard to the vital points die instantly" (मर्माणि शल्यविषयार्धमुदाहरन्ति। यस्माच्च मर्मसु हता न भवन्ति सद्यः). In addition to naming and locating the vital points in the body, Suśruta outlines the various consequences of harming each one (e.g., instant death, severe pain, trembling, etc.) and the dimensions of each point. This information would be essential for a surgeon, who might kill a patient by damaging a vital point.

¹²⁵ *Yuktabhavadeva*: 8.17–40.

HERBS

In addition to vital points, the *Yuktabhavadēva* contains a chapter on herbal preparations (*kalpa*). The use of herbs is mentioned in only a few texts of both the early and late corpuses. In the early corpus, there is a substantial passage on herbal recipes and their effects in the *Khecarīvidyā* and, though this passage may have been added to the *Khecarīvidyā* sometime after the first three chapters of the text were composed,¹²⁶ it is likely to predate the *Yuktabhavadēva*. Similar recipes to some of those in the *Khecarīvidyā* are found in the eighteenth-century *Jogapradīpyakā* and a nineteenth-century unnamed compilation on Yoga, which will be discussed below. However, these are the only significant sources for the use of herbs in the Yoga corpus consulted for this article. Therefore, the role of herbs in these Yoga texts is marginal at most. Most of the works do not mention herbs, and those that do, mention them only in passing, without details of recipes and their specific benefits for yogins.

Moreover, even in those texts which describe herbal preparations, such as the *Khecarīvidyā* and the *Yuktabhavadēva*, the information on herbs appears to be unconnected to the system of Yoga practice taught in the same texts. This suggests that the use of herbs was, at most, an inessential supplement for some yogins. In fact, even as Haṭhayoga became more sophisticated after the fifteenth century with the integration of more elaborate techniques, metaphysics and doctrines, the *Jogapradīpyakā* is the only text among those consulted for this paper that explains how the practice of Yoga might be combined with taking medicinal herbs for a period of time.

The emphasis on attaining liberation in premodern systems of Yoga may partly explain the paucity of information on herbs, because the use of herbs is mainly advocated for the attainment of *siddhis*. A striking example of this occurs in the *Yogabīja*, which includes some general remarks on *siddhis*. It distinguishes two types of *siddhis*; the effected (*kalpita*) and spontaneous (*akalpita*). Those that are effected are accomplished by means of mercury, herbs, rites, auspicious mo-

¹²⁶ Mallinson (2007a:13) notes that this chapter was added to the text at a later time. Therefore, it may not predate the *Haṭhapradīpikā* because the only evidence for its ter-

minus *ad quem* is the year of the *Khecarīvidyā*'s oldest dated manuscript, which is 1683 CE (Mallinson 2007a: 47).

ments,¹²⁷ mantras, the body¹²⁸ and so forth.¹²⁹ These methods for attaining *siddhis* are attested in earlier Tantras.¹³⁰ Also, the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* affirms at least two of these methods in attributing *siddhis* to births, herbs, mantras, asceticism and *samādhi*.¹³¹ Patañjali's commentary (*bhāṣya*) clarifies the reference to herbs in this *sūtra* by indicating that a potion (*rasāyana*) is to be understood.¹³² Śaṅkara's *Vivaraṇa* glosses *rasāyanena* as "by eating *soma*, *āmalaka* and so on".¹³³ Both these substances are mentioned in the *rasāyana* sections of classical Ayurvedic texts.¹³⁴ Bhojadeva mentions mercury (*pārada*) as an ingredient of this potion. Mercury appeared in medical works that date from the seventh century onwards.¹³⁵ Patañjali's statement is largely corroborated by a verse in the *Bhāṅgavatapurāṇa* that emphasizes the power of Yoga by claiming that one attains all the *siddhis* that

¹²⁷ It is possible that *kriyākāla* should be read as a compound, in which case it could be understood as, "the auspicious time of a rite." This compound is used several times in the *Brahmayāmala* (e.g., *paṭala* 96) with this meaning (personal communication from Shaman Hatley, 31.12.2015). It is also used in classical Ayurveda, where it refers to the opportune times for initiating treatment, six of which are described in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (Meulenbeld 2011: 38). However, it is highly unlikely that this meaning, which is peculiar to Ayurveda, was intended here.

¹²⁸ The term *kṣetra* can mean the "body," as seen, for example, in the compound *kṣetrajñā* ('knowing the body'), which occurs in the *Yogabīja*:135. This meaning would make sense in the context of Hāṭhayoga, in which physical techniques give rise to *siddhis*. However, *kṣetra* can also mean a sacred place, and it is not inconceivable that a sacred place might give rise to *siddhis*, although I am yet to find any evidence for this and, in the context of Yoga, it seems less likely.

¹²⁹ *Yogabīja*:154cd–155 (द्विविधाः सिद्धयो लोके कल्पिताकल्पिताः शिवे ॥ रसौषधिक्रियाकालमन्त्रक्षेत्रादि-साधनात् ॥ सिद्ध्यन्ति सिद्धयो यास्तु कल्पितास्ताः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

155a रसौ-] MS Jodhpur RORI 16329: वनौ-Ed.).

¹³⁰ For different substances, including herbs, that cause *siddhis*, see Hatley

2018:74–5, n.131. Also see Kṣemarāja's commentary introducing the *Svacchandatantra*:10.825 as well as *Mat-syendrasaṃhitā*:28.1. For references in various Tantras on the proverb that states that the power of herbs is inconceivable, see Dominic Goodall 1998: 273 n. 340.

¹³¹ *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*: 4.1.

¹³² *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*: 4.1: "By herbs is [meant] such things as a potion [served] in the homes of the Asuras" (ओषधिभिरसुरभवनेषु रसायनेनेत्येवमादिः). On the meaning of *asura-bhavana*, see Dominik Wujastyk 2014.

¹³³ *Vivaraṇa*: p. 318: सोमामलकादिभक्षणैः. For a more detailed discussion of *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 4.1 and the commentaries, see Maas 2017.

¹³⁴ *Soma* is included as a divine drug (*divyauṣadhi*) in the *rasāyana* section of the *Carakasamhitā* and the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (see Dagmar Wujastyk 2015: 58, 62–63). On Emblic myrobalan, Dagmar Wujastyk (2015: 57 f.) observes: "The emblic myrobalan or Indian gooseberry (Skt. *āmalaka*, Hindi *āmlā*) seems to be the most important ingredient in Caraka's many *rasāyana* recipes, followed by the other myrobalans – the chebulic and belleric myrobalans."

¹³⁵ The first mention of mercury in *rasāyana* is in the seventh-century *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* (Dagmar Wujastyk 2015: 104).

arise from births, herbs, asceticism and mantras through the practice of Yoga alone.¹³⁶

The *Yogabīja* goes on to say that spontaneous *siddhis*, which are brought about by Yoga, are more powerful and last longer than those deliberately effected. Nonetheless, as is the case with other texts of the early corpus,¹³⁷ the importance of *siddhis* is overshadowed by the goal of liberation:

However, just as various sacred places pointing the way to Varanasi are seen by pilgrims traveling on the path, so [various] *siddhis* [are seen by yogins on the path to] liberation.¹³⁸

Although the use of herbs is most often associated with *siddhis* in Yoga texts, an important exception is the *Amaraughaprabodha*, for it states that there are sometimes two types of Rājayoga, herbal (*auśadha*) and spiritual (*adhyātmaka*).¹³⁹ As far as I am aware, this is the only Yoga text containing the claim that one might achieve *samādhi* by taking herbs.¹⁴⁰ Unfortunately, the *Amaraughaprabodha* does not provide more information on the herbal preparations used by yogins. Nonetheless, a subsequent verse questions the efficacy of Ayurveda by asking how diseases could be cured without *samādhi* :

Those who are skilful in following [the teachings of] Caraka and are desirous of hearing [those of] Suśruta have unsteady minds. How

¹³⁶ Bhāgavatapurāṇa: 11.15.34: जन्मौषधितपो-मन्त्रैर्यावतीरिह सिद्धयः। योगेनाप्नोति ताः सर्वा नान्यैर्योगार्तिं व्रजेत्। This verse is quoted by Brahmānanda in his *Jyotsnā*: 2.43.

¹³⁷ For example, *Amanaska*: 1.75: “Those exceptional persons who desire to become absorbed in the state of the supreme Brahma, for them all the Siddhis become the cause of their ruin” (गन्तुमिच्छन्ति ये केचित्परब्रह्मपदे लयम्। भवन्ति सिद्धयः सर्वास्तेषां विध्वंसकारिकाः) and *Dattātreya yogaśāstra*: 101: “These [Siddhis] are obstacles to the great Siddhi (i.e., liberation). The wise person should not delight in them and he should never show his power to anyone” (एते विघ्ना महासिद्धेर्न रमेत्तेषु बुद्धिमान्। न दर्शयेच्च कस्मै चित्त्वसामर्थ्यं हि सर्वदा).

¹³⁸ *Yogabīja*: 160, edition p. 42 यथा काशीं समुद्दिश्य गच्छद्भिः पथिकैः पथि। नानातीर्थानि दृश्यन्ते तथा

मोक्षं तु सिद्धयः ॥

मोक्षं तु] emend. : मोक्षेषु Ed.).

¹³⁹ *Amaraughaprabodha*: 5ab (औषधोऽध्यात्मकश्चेति राजयोगो द्विधा क्व चित्।

औषधो] MS Chennai ARL 70528 : औषध्यो MS Chennai ARL 75278 : औषध्यो Ed. ऽध्यात्मकश्] Ed. : ध्यापनश् MS Chennai ARL 70528 : ऽत्मिक MS Chennai ARL 75278 (unmetrical). राजयोगो] MS Chennai ARL 75278, Ed. : लययोगो MS Chennai ARL 70528). As indicated by MS Chennai ARL 70528, it is possible that this statement refers to Layayoga and not Rājayoga. Nonetheless, even if Layayoga is read, the implication is that herbs can be used to dissolve the mind for the attainment of a meditative state.

¹⁴⁰ In the *Amaraughaprabodha*: 4d Rājayoga is a synonym for *samādhi* and is defined as “free from mental activity” (यश्चित्तवृत्तिरहितः स तु राजयोगः).

can all people be indestructible without the medicine of the no-mind state?¹⁴¹

The fourth chapter of the *Khēcarīvidyā* has seventeen verses on herbal preparations that bring about *siddhis*. The recipes include over a dozen herbs, the names of which are: *muṇḍī*,¹⁴² *vārāhī*, *guggulu*, *triphalā*, *aśvagandhā*, *viśvasarpikā*, *kuṣṭha*, *kunaṣṭi*, *bhṛṅga*, *āmalaka*, *nirguṇḍī*, *rudralocana* and *śālmaliniryāsa* as well as elements such as gold, mercury and sulphur. Generally speaking, these herbs are mixed with other foods like milk, ghee, sesame seeds, sugar or honey. The results (i.e., *siddhi*) are mundane benefits such as youthful looks (i.e., the loss of grey hair and wrinkles), freedom from disease, greater strength and health, longevity, and freedom from old age and death. Most of the ingredients can be found in both the *Carakasamhitā* and the *Suśrutasamhitā*, and those absent in these two works occur in *rasāyana* texts.¹⁴³ Some of the *Khēcarīvidyā*'s recipes are not unlike those of classical Ayurveda, the main difference being that the latter provide more details on the accompanying diet and regime. For example, the compound based on the herb *vārāhī* is described in the *Khēcarīvidyā* as follows:

[If the yogin] should eat powdered bulb of *vārāhī* with ghee and unrefined cane-sugar, [there arise] health and growth.¹⁴⁴

And in the *Suśrutasamhitā*: Ci.27.11:

Having made a powder of a [certain] weight of the *vārāhī* root, one should drink a measure of it combined with honey and mixed with

141 Amaraughaprabodha: 12, edition p. 49: चरकानुचरणचतुराश्रटुलधियः सुश्रुतश्रवणलोलाः। अमनस्कौषधिवर्ज्यं कथमखिलजगदक्षयं भवति॥ चरकानुचरणचतुराश्र] MS Chennai ARL 75278, Ed. : चिरकालचारलचरणा MS Chennai ARL 70528. चटुलधियः] MS Chennai ARL 75278, Ed. : चरणधियस् MS Chennai ARL 70528. सुश्रुत-] MS Chennai ARL 75278, Ed. : समश्रुत- MS Chennai ARL 70528. -वर्ज] MS Chennai ARL 70528 : वा...ज्या Ed : वाज्या MS Chennai ARL 75278. अखिलजगदक्षयं] diagnostic conj. Goodall : अखिलजगदक्षयं MS Chennai ARL 70528 : अखिलजगदन्तक्षयो MS Chennai ARL 75278 : अखिलजगत् तत्क्षयो Ed. The edition of Mallik (1954a: 48–71) is a transcription of MS Chennai, GOML D4339, which is no longer available at the library. In the metre of the second hemistich, I am assuming

that kṣa can be read as a separate heavy syllable, which constitutes the 6th foot. I would like to thank those who attended the Haṭha Yoga Project's workshop at the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Pondicherry (January 15–26, 2018) for their comments on this verse and Viswanatha Gupta at the EFEO Pondicherry for his help with reading MSS MS Chennai ARL 75278 and MS Chennai ARL 70528.

142 This is referred to as *bhikṣūttamāṅga-parikalpita* in *Khēcarīvidyā*: 4.2.

143 The exceptions are *viśvasarpikā* and *kunaṣṭi*.

144 *Khēcarīvidyā*: 4.4a, edition p. 111: वाराहीकन्दचूर्णं घृतगुडसहितं भक्षयेत्पुष्टिवृद्धी (trans. Mallinson 2007a: 135).

milk. When it is digested, [one should take] food such as milk, clarified butter, boiled rice and so on and [follow] the prohibitions (*pratiṣedha*) described earlier in this text. One who takes this treatment lives for one hundred years and does not tire when [having sex with] women.¹⁴⁵

The results of the *Khēcarīvidyā*'s recipes appear to be the standard clichés that are found in the works of Ayurveda and Rāśāśāstra. Therefore, it is entirely conceivable that the *Khēcarīvidyā*'s recipes were taken or adapted from such works, although my research has yet to find textual parallels that might prove this. Nonetheless, two of the recipes appear to have been intended as treatments. As Mallinson (2007a: 240 n. 466) has observed, the grammar of the verses on *muṇḍī* and *vārāhī* indicate that both recipes were to be administered to the yogin by some unspecified person, possibly a physician or guru.

A post fifteenth-century commentary on the *Khēcarīvidyā*, by the name of the *Bṛhatkhēcarīprakāśa*,¹⁴⁶ refers to three of the *Khēcarīvidyā*'s recipes as herbal compounds (*kalpa*).¹⁴⁷ The term *kalpa* is used with this meaning in sections on *rasāyana* in various Sanskrit works, such as the *Kalyāṇakāraka*, the *Ānandakanda*, the *Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra*, the *Gaurikāñcalikātantra*, the *Rasaratnākara*, the *Rasārṇavakalpa*, etc. These works teach many different *kalpas*, the *Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra* alone having fifty-one. The names of two of the *kalpas* mentioned in the *Bṛhatkhēcarīprakāśa* are found in some of these texts, but the recipes differ.¹⁴⁸ However, textual parallels and identical recipes are found between these works and a chapter on twelve *kalpas* in Bhavadeva's *Yuktabhavadeva*.

It is likely that Bhavadeva was aware of the *Khēcarīvidyā*'s chapter on herbs because he included one of the latter's verses on *muṇḍīkalpa*.¹⁴⁹ Bhavadeva states

145 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: 4.27.11 वाराहीमूलतुलाचूर्णं कृत्वा ततो मात्रां मधुयुक्तां पयसालोड्य पिबेत्, जीर्णे पयः सर्पिरोदन इत्याहारः प्रतिषेधोऽत्र पूर्ववत्, प्रयोगमिममुप-सेवमानो वर्षशतमायुरवाप्नोति स्त्रीषु चाक्षयताम् [...].

146 The *Bṛhatkhēcarīprakāśa* mentions by name the *Haṭhāpradīpikā* and *Śivasāṃhitā*, so it postdates the fifteenth century. For the references to these citations, see Mallinson 2007a: 160–61.

147 Mallinson (2007a: 240 n. 463) notes *muṇḍīkalpa* and *vārāhīkalpa*. Also, *indrāṇīkalpa* is mentioned (*Bṛhatkhēcarīprakāśa*: f. 111v l. 12) and in other places, Ballāla simply says, "Now, he teaches another"

(अथान्यदाह).

148 For example, *muṇḍīkalpa* is mentioned in the *Ānandakanda*: 1.15.60–70ab, the *Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra*: 92–93, the *Gaurikāñcalikātantra*: 10 and the *Rasaratnākara*: 4.64–66. *Indrāṇīkalpa* – otherwise known as *nirguṇḍīkalpa* – is mentioned in the *Ānandakanda*: 1.15.111–120ab, the *Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra*: pp. 73–93 and the *Rasaratnākara*: 4.84–91. *Vārāhī* is commonly used in Āyurvedic recipes, but a *vārāhīkalpa* does not figure among the *kalpas* of the works I have consulted.

149 *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.113 = *Khēcarīvidyā*: 4.2.

that Śiva taught these *kalpas* to Pārvaṭī,¹⁵⁰ which is consistent with the dialogic framework of the *Khecarīvidyā*. However, Bhavadeva's exposition on herbs is much more extensive than the *Khecarīvidyā*'s. He sometimes quotes several sources on one *kalpa*, thus documenting various recipes for the same herb and a more comprehensive array of its *siddhis*. I have not been able to identify with certainty a particular source(s) on *kalpas* quoted by Bhavadeva. However, there are many textual parallels with the *Rasārṇavakalpa*¹⁵¹ and a few with the *Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra*.¹⁵² Also, some of the *Yuktabhavadeva*'s prose sections contain the same content as other verses in both of these texts on *rasāyana*.¹⁵³ These parallels strongly suggest that Bhavadeva was borrowing from *Rasaśāstra*, which he explicitly quotes but without naming any particular text.

As was the case in the *Khecarīvidyā*, the chapter on *kalpas* in the *Yuktabhavadeva* is somewhat disconnected from the rest of the text. Bhavadeva does not explain how nor why a yogin might integrate the taking of *kalpas* with the practice of Yoga. The end of the preceding chapter finishes with a short section on methods for attaining health (*arogyopāya*), in which Bhavadeva quotes without attribution nine verses from the *Śivasamhitā* (3.80–87) on several breathing techniques (*vāyusādhana*) involving the tongue. It is possible that Bhavadeva included the *kalpas*

150 *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.1: "Now, the herbal preparations [are taught]. Śiva taught [them] to Pārvaṭī because of his compassion for practitioners in this regard. The preparation of the [herb called] Īśvarī is [first] narrated" (अथ कल्याः – तत्र साधकानां कृपया श्रीमहेश्वरेण पार्वत्यै प्रोक्तम् [1] ईश्वरीकल्पो लिख्यते). This is affirmed by *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.111ab: "These *kalpas*, which were [first] taught by Śiva, have been briefly explained" (इति संक्षेपतः प्रोक्तः कल्याः श्रीसङ्करोदिताः).

151 In the *Yuktabhavadeva*'s section on *aśvagandhakalpa*, *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.69–70, 75 ~ *Rasārṇavakalpa*: 245cd–47ab, 249cd–250ab. On *śvetārṇakalpa*, *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.103 = *Rasārṇavakalpa*: 316. On *īśvarīkalpa*, *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.8–18, 19, 21–23ab, 24ab, 29b, 29cd ~ *Rasārṇavakalpa*: 462cd–73, 475, 481cd–83ab, 484ab, 486b, 489a, 490d, 491ab and *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.24cd–25c, 27b = *Rasārṇavakalpa*: 486cd–487c, 486b. On *rudantīkalpa* (which is called *rudravantīkalpa* in the *Rasārṇavakalpa*), *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.109 ~ *Rasārṇavakalpa*: 596cd–597ab and *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.110bcd =

Rasārṇavakalpa: 599bcd.

152 In the *Yuktabhavadeva*'s section on *īśvarīkalpa*, *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.4, 6a–c, 28cd–29 = *Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra*: pp. 7–12 (in the section on *nāgadamanīkalpa*), 14cd–15, 16ac, 30cd–31. On *muṇḍīkalpa*, *Yuktabhavadeva*: 113a, 113c = *Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra*: p. 92, 1a, 1c.

153 The content of the *Yuktabhavadeva*'s sections on *jyotiṣmatīkalpa*, *somarājīkalpa*, *mayūraśikhā* and *śrīphalakalpa* closely follows *Rasārṇavakalpa*: 261–98, 604–610, 618–629 (on *mayūragirīkalpa*) and 783–89 (on *śrīvṛkṣakalpa*). The *Yuktabhavadeva*'s sections on *īśvarīkalpa* (and *nāgadamanī* 2.12–29) follows some sections of the *Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra* (in particular, cf. *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.2, 3 to *Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra*: pp. 7–12: 2, 5a, 6cd, 7abc, 8cd–9ab, 12ab). Also, the *Yuktabhavadeva*'s sections on *kākajañghākalpa* closely follows *Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra* (in particular, cf. *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.82–86 to *Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra*: pp. 64–69: 9–10ab, 12ab, 13–17ab, 19cd).

simply because of the many health benefits attributed to them. However, when his text is read as a whole, the effects of the *kalpas* seem unexceptional when juxtaposed with the numerous health benefits and supernatural effects of Yoga techniques. In fact, it begs the question as to why a yogin would resort to herbs when Yoga itself promised longevity, health and so much more.

As to how herbs might have been combined with the practice of Yoga, the most elaborate and compelling account of this is found in the eighteenth-century *Jogapradīpyakā*, written in Brajbhāṣā. At the end of its section on *khecarīmudrā*, which is the practice of inserting the tongue into the nasopharyngeal cavity, the *Jogapradīpyakā* explains in detail six auxiliaries (*aṅga*) of *khecarīmudrā* (i.e., cutting the frenum, moving, milking, inserting and churning the tongue as well as mantra recitation) and how they can be combined with the ingestion of medicinal herbs. The four recipes closely resemble those in the fourth chapter of the *Khecarīvidyā*.¹⁵⁴ However, the *Jogapradīpyakā* goes on to explain how these herbs were taken during the practice of *khecarīmudrā*:

Next, I will describe herbs and explain [them] exceptionally clearly. Without herbs, one does not obtain *siddhis*. Therefore, the yogin should always take herbs. Collect [the herb called] *bhr̥ṅga*¹⁵⁵ along with its root and having dried it, make a powder of it. Take black sesame, Emblic myrobalan and curd and, having mixed [them] with three sweeteners,¹⁵⁶ one should take the whole [mixture]. It will remove all ailments and diseases, and old age and death will disappear.¹⁵⁷ Jayatarāma will speak of [other] herbs which have these qualities. One who consumes a single leaf of the *nirguḍī* [plant]¹⁵⁸ three times every day for a year, this will be the result: one destroys both old age and death.¹⁵⁹ One should seek and obtain

¹⁵⁴ Mallinson 2007a: 240 n. 462.

¹⁵⁵ I am aware of the difficulties in identifying plant names in premodern Sanskrit works by referring to international Latin taxonomies (see Dominik Wujastyk 2003a: 23–26). Nonetheless, I have supplied the botanical names in Nadkarni 1954; Kirtikar, Basu, and an I.C.S 1987, etc. to give the reader some idea, but my research on these Sanskrit terms has not gone beyond this. The term *bhr̥ṅga* is the equivalent of *bhr̥ṅgarāja*, which is *Eclipta alba*, Linn. (Kirtikar, Basu, and an I.C.S 1987: 2: 1361–

63), *Eclipta erecta, alba* or *prostrata* (Nadkarni 1954: 316) or *Wedelia calendulacea*, Less. (Dutt 1877: 181 f. HIML: 537).

¹⁵⁶ The words “*mādha triya*” may be referring to *trimadhura* in Sanskrit, which is ghee, honey and sugar (MW: s.v.). I wish to thank Nirajan Kafle for pointing this out to me.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. *Khecarīvidyā*: 4.10.

¹⁵⁸ *nirguḍī* = *nirguṇḍī* in Sanskrit, which is *Vitex negundo*, Linn. (Kirtikar, Basu, and an I.C.S 1987: 3: 1937–40; Nadkarni 1954: 889).

¹⁵⁹ Cf. *Khecarīvidyā*: 4.11.

the [herbs called] *nirguḍī*, *nalani*¹⁶⁰ and *mūṇḍī*¹⁶¹ from the forest in equal quantities. Then, combine them with sugar and ghee and, having taken them for a year, one obtains *siddhi*.¹⁶² For six months, one should treat sulphur, make equal amounts of sesame and bitter orpiment¹⁶³ and, having combined [them] with three sweeteners, make a powder. [By taking this powder,] one obtains the state of youth and immortality. Thus, the [section on] herbs.

Now, the [yogin's] manner of living [while undertaking the practice of *khecarīmudrā*]. First, build a solitary hut in a forest or [in the grounds of] a hermitage, where it pleases the mind. For six months, one should hold a steady posture and not talk with any people. One should repeat mantras day and night, consume rice water, and avoid salt. One should not eat dry ginger, the [fruit of the] wood-apple tree nor radish.¹⁶⁴ [However,] one can eat a little sweet food. Having done the practice, one should take those herbs which were described previously. When every seventh day, [which is] Sunday, comes, one should cut [the fraenum]; every fortnight, milk [the tongue] and, day and night, churn it with the mind focused.¹⁶⁵ When one does this for six months, one obtains a strong *khecarīmudrā*. The tongue grows four finger-breadths [in length] and one obtains two fruits, devotion and liberation. That man who has done what has to be done, washes off the impurities of birth and death. O Jayatarāma, having held one drop [of semen] in the body, it dissolves in copper, which [then] becomes gold. This is the special quality of *khecarīmudrā*.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ *nalani* = *nalini* in Sanskrit. I have not been able to find a botanical name for this Sanskrit word. Callewaert 2009:1038 defines it as “a lotus (of the night-blooming variety, and always white).”

¹⁶¹ *mūṇḍī* is spelt *muṇḍī* in Sanskrit works. It is also known as *mahāmūṇḍī* and *tapodhanā*, and its botanical name is *Sphaeranthus indicus*, Linn. (Kirtikar, Basu, and an I.C.S 1987: 2: 1347 f.) or *Sphaeranthus Microcephalus*, Willd. (Nadkarni 1954: 814).

¹⁶² Cf. *Khecarīvidyā*: 4.12. The *Khecarīvidyā*'s recipe contains *amala* instead of *nalani*.

¹⁶³ The term *golocana* is *gorocanā* in Sanskrit.

¹⁶⁴ Callewaert (2009: 1727) defines *mulī* as

any root used medicinally. I thank Nirājan Kafle for pointing out to me the more probable meaning of *mulī* here as radish, the consumption of which is sometimes prohibited in ritual contexts.

¹⁶⁵ The cutting, milking and churning that are spoken of here are described in detail earlier in the text (i.e., *Jogapradīpyakā*: 623–52).

¹⁶⁶ *Jogapradīpyakā*: 665–76, edition pp. 318–20: बहुरि औषदि वरनि सुनाउ, दिव्य दिव्य प्रकट कहि गाऊ। औषदि विना सिधि नही लहै, तातै जोगी अवषदि नित गहै॥ ६६५॥ भृङ्ग समूल संग्रह आनै, ताहि सुकायूर चूर्ण ठानै। क्रिष्णतिल आमल दधि लेवै, मध त्रिय साधि सकल कौ सेवै॥ ६६६॥ दोहा – रोग व्याधि सब ही कटै, जरामृत्यु मिटि जाय। जयतराम

The above passage is such a striking example of herbal Yoga, so to speak, because it demonstrates precisely how the practice of Yoga and the taking of herbs might have been integrated. Yet, one must wonder why similar accounts are not found in earlier Sanskrit Yoga texts, had the taking of herbs been common amongst practitioners of this type of Yoga. Like the *Jogapradīpyakā*, earlier texts provide details on the yogin's hut (*maṭhī*), postures (*āsana*) and dietary restrictions. However, in the *Jogapradīpyakā*, the inclusion of these details as a preliminary practice for six months, followed by the ingestion of herbal compounds and promises of youthfulness and immortality are all redolent of rejuvenation practices in Ayurveda.

The only Sanskrit text consulted for this study that touches on details of how a yogin should use herbs is an unnamed compilation on Yoga, which was probably composed in the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁷ It draws heavily on the *Khecarīvidyā*, but also tacitly includes verses from a diverse array of texts, notably the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, the *Śivasamhitā*, the *Amṛtasiddhi*, the *Yogarahasya*, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*, the *Bhagavadgītā* and Śivānanda's *Yogacintāmaṇi*. It contains a concise section on herbs (*auśadhikalpasamāsa*) with descriptions of five *kalpas*,¹⁶⁸ two of which closely parallel recipes in the *Khecarīvidyā*.¹⁶⁹ After the description of the fourth *kalpa*, this brief statement follows:

अवषध भषै, तो ये ता गुण थाय ॥ ६६७ ॥ चौपाई – एक एक निर्गुडी पात, दिन प्रति तीन वेर जो पात। वरस वार है ऐसी होवे, जरामृत्यु दोनों सो षोवे ॥ ६६८ ॥ निर्गुडी नलनी अरू मूण्डी, सम करि वन तै ल्यावे दुंढी। बहुरि सर्करा घृत जु मिलावे, वरस दिवस साध्या सिधि पावे ॥ ६६९ ॥ षट मास गन्धक सो धरै, तिल करु गोलोचन समकरै। मधु त्रय जुक्ति चूर्ण कर पावे, अजर अमर पदवी सो पावे ॥ ६७० ॥ इति औषध ॥ अथ रहन विधान। चौपाई – प्रथम एकान्त मठी इक ठानै, वन ग्रह माहि जहां मनि मानै। षट मास आसन द्विध धरै, प्राणी मात्र सों बात न करै ॥ ६७१ ॥ मन्त्रजाप निसदिन ही उचारै, चावल पेय भषि लूण निवारै। नागर बेल मूलि नहि पावे, कछुक मीठो भोजन पावे ॥ ६७२ ॥ पूरव अवषध वरनी जोई, साधन करै तास कौ सोई। दिवस सातवै रविदिन आवै, ता ता दिन छेदन जु करावे ॥ ६७३ ॥ पाषि पाषि प्रति दोहन करै, मथन अहो निसि ही मन धरै। ऐसै करत मास षट जावै, वृद्ध खेचरी पावे तवै ॥ ६७४ ॥ अङ्गुर च्यारि जीभ बढि आवै, भक्ति मुक्ति दोउ फल पावे। कृत्य कृत्य सोई नर होय, जन्म मृत्यु मल डारै धोय ॥ ६७५ ॥ दोहा – गरयौ जु तांवा उपरै, बून्द एक धरि देह। जयतराम सो कनक होय, खेचरी का गुण येह ॥ ६७६ ॥ इति खेचरी ॥ 666d मध (MS ba)] emend. : मधि Ed. 674b वृद्धि (MS a)] emend : वृद्धि Ed. I would like

to thank Nirājan Kafle for his helpful comments on this passage. One might consider, as Nirājan has suggested, emending *bhakti* to *bhukti* (“enjoyment”) in 675b. I have retained *bhakti* because the Rāmānandīs are known for their devotion. However, *bhukti* also seems to fit the context well.

¹⁶⁷ It is transmitted in MS Jodhpur RORI 34946 and has the siglum “O” in Mallinson 2007a: 54–5. This date is based on this compilation's citation with attribution (f. 8r, l. 5) of Sundaradeva's *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* (MSS), which can be approximately dated to the eighteenth century (see below).

¹⁶⁸ MS Jodhpur RORI 34946 f. 8r–10v. The first three are *muṇḍī*, *vārāhī* and *nirguṇḍī*. The name of the fourth is not clear and the fifth is called *dhātrīmahākālpa*. This section ends with *ity auśadhakalpaḥ*.

¹⁶⁹ *Khecarīvidyā*: 4.4 ~ MS Jodhpur RORI 34946 f. 8v, l. 7–f. 9r, l. 3 and *Khecarīvidyā*: 4.11 = MS Jodhpur RORI 34946 f. 9r, ll. 4–5.

According to the rule of entering a hut, in a solitary place, free from wind, taking those [herbal preparations, the yogin] should go without drink and food, not socialize and maintain celibacy. Because of the power of this herbal preparation, his hair and teeth fall out. Having shed his skin like a snake, [even] an old man becomes [like] a sixteen-year old.¹⁷⁰

It is worth noting that the term used for hut in the above passage is *kuṭī*, which is found in Ayurvedic texts such as the *Carakasamhitā*,¹⁷¹ whereas Yoga texts tend to use the term *maṭha* or *maṭhikā*. Although many Yoga texts mention the location, dimensions and materials for a yogin's hut, the distinguishing features of the above passage is the use of herbs and the subsequent loss of the yogin's hair, teeth and skin. Such details are found in accounts of *rasāyana* treatment in Ayurvedic texts. For example, in the *Suśrutasamhitā*'s description of a soma rite which rejuvenates the patient in four months,¹⁷² the treatment is administered in a dwelling (*āgāra*) with three walls. Within the first week the patient becomes emaciated and on the eighth day the skin cracks and the teeth, nails and body hair fall out.¹⁷³ On the seventeenth day the teeth grow back, then the nails, hair and skin, and by the end of the treatment one has a new body for ten thousand years. Such a process of bodily decay and renewal is not seen in other premodern Yoga texts and its inclusion in a section on herbs in this nineteenth-century, unnamed compilation on Yoga strongly suggests that the author knew of *rasāyana* therapy.

The literature's ambivalence, as it were, towards the taking of herbs suggests that yogins neither condemned nor promoted their use as an integral part of their Yoga practice. Passing references to herbs and the inclusion of some recipes in a few Yoga texts indicate that some yogins must have taken them for their supernatural effects. This is unsurprising given the shared emphasis on healing and rejuvenation in both premodern Yoga and *rasāyana*. Nonetheless, there is no evidence to suggest that the taking of herbs was ever an essential component of Hatha- and Rājayoga traditions.

170 MS Jodhpur RORI 34946 f. 9v, l. 6–f. 10r, l. 2 (कुटीप्रवेशविधिना निर्वातौ विजनस्थले तद्गजन्मुक्तपानान्नो निःसङ्गो ब्रह्मचर्यवान्॥ ६२॥ कल्पस्यास्य प्रभावेन केशा दन्ताः पतन्ति च॥ अहेरिव त्वचं हित्वा वृद्धः स्यात्षोडशाब्दिकः ॥ -विधिना] emend. : विधि ॥ ना Codex. त्वचं] corr. त्वचं Codex). It appears that a scribe has split -विधिना with a *daṇḍa*, possibly with the inten-

tion of making a heading.

171 *Carakasamhitā*: Ci.1.23, etc.

172 *Suśrutasamhitā*: Ci.29.10–19. For a translation of this passage, see Dominik Wujastyk 2003a: 171–77.

173 *Suśrutasamhitā*: Ci.29.12: (ततोऽष्टमेऽहनि [...]) त्वक्कावदलति दन्तनखरोमाणि चास्य पतन्ति [...]).

4. PRAXIS

POSTURES (ĀSANA)

I WOULD NOW LIKE TO TURN MY ATTENTION to Yoga techniques that were singled out in some texts as being particularly effective in healing diseases. Their curative role raises questions such as whether they were modelled on Ayurvedic techniques or therapies and whether the yogins who practised them were presented as physicians. There are several accounts of Yoga therapy (*yogacikitsā*) in the corpus consulted for this article and one of these therapies was written by an Ayurvedic doctor who composed large compendiums on Yoga.

The role of *āsanas* in healing disease was acknowledged in one of the oldest texts of the early corpus. In defining the six auxiliaries (*aṅga*) of its Yoga, the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* says the following:

The best of yogins cures diseases by Yogic posture (*āsana*), sin by breath retentions (*prāṇāyāma*) and mental problems by withdrawing [his mind from sense objects] (*pratyāhāra*). He obtains stability of mind by concentration (*dhāraṇā*), wondrous power by meditation (*dhyāna*) and liberation by *samādhi*, after having abandoned [all] action, good and bad.¹⁷⁴

Similarly, the *Yogayājñavalkya* adds the following general remark after describing the last of its eight *āsanas*: “All internal diseases and poisons are cured”.¹⁷⁵ The *Haṭhapradīpikā*, which teaches the most *āsanas* of the works in the early corpus, goes further than any of the yoga texts known to predate it in enumerating the curative benefits of *āsana*. After stating that *āsana* is the first auxiliary of Haṭha-yoga and results in steadiness, freedom from disease and lightness of limbs,¹⁷⁶ Svātmārāma notes two traditions of *āsanas*; those from sages (*muni*), such as Vasiṣṭha, and those from yogins, such Matsyendra.¹⁷⁷ The *āsanas* of Vasiṣṭha are those described in the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, which Svātmārāma borrowed verbatim (Mallinson 2013b: 227 f.). These postures and their descriptions contain only a

174 *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*: 92–93 (MS Baroda, Central Library 4110, f. 4r, ll. 2–4): आसनेन रुजो हन्ति प्राणायामेन पातकम्। प्रत्याहारेण योगीन्द्रो विकारं हन्ति मानसम्। धारणया मनोधैर्यं ध्याना-दैश्वर्यमद्भुतम्॥ समाधेर्मोक्षम् आप्नोति त्यक्त्वा कर्म शुभाशुभम्।

175 *Yogayājñavalkya*: 3.17ab: सर्वे चाभ्यन्तरा रोगा विनश्यन्ति विषाणि च। This comment is not found in the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, from which

the *Yogayājñavalkya* borrowed its verses on *āsana*. Therefore, one can assume that this is a general comment added by the redactor of the *Yogayājñavalkya*, which reflects its stronger theme of curative aims.

176 *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 1.17.

177 *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 1.18. For a translation of this verse, see Birch 2018a.

couple of clichés about healing. For instance, *bhadrāsana* is said to cure all diseases (*sarva vyādhivīnāśana*).¹⁷⁸ However, the other *āsanas*, which appear to derive from Matsyendra's tradition and are yet to be traced to an earlier textual work, are those with elaborate curative effects. A good example is *matsyendrāsana* :

By means of practice, Matsyendra's seat, which is a lethal weapon against a range of terrible diseases, stimulates digestive fire, awakens Kuṇḍalinī and stabilizes the moon in people.¹⁷⁹

One might also assume that verses on the healing power of *pāścimatānāsana*, *śavāsana* and *mayūrāsana* also derive from Matsyendra's tradition. Even though *mayūrāsana* is taught in the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, the verse on its curative effects does not derive from there. In fact, it is worth noting that the *Vimānārcanākālpa*, which is probably the source of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*'s *āsanas*,¹⁸⁰ contains no statements on the diseases cured by *āsanas*. Therefore, Svātmārāma's textual borrowing suggests that the Vaikhāṇasa tradition was not the source of observations on the curative effects of *āsana* noted in Haṭhayoga texts, but rather a Śaiva tradition connected to Matsyendranātha.

Some yoga texts of the late corpus teach a considerably larger number of *āsanas* than the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.¹⁸¹ Among these, the *Jogapradīpyakā* adopted the systematic approach of mentioning the healing benefits of each *āsana* after its description, like the works of modern authors such as Swami Sivananda's *Yoga Asanas* (1934), Swami Kuvalayananda's *Asanas* (1931) and BKS Iyengar's *Light on Yoga* (1966). The *Jogapradīpyakā*'s observations on the healing effects of *āsana* range from the usual clichés, such as curing all diseases, stimulating digestive fire and rejuvenation, to specific statements on curing particular diseases. Across the eighty-four *āsanas*, an impressive range of diseases are cured, including tuberculous (*rājaroga*), leprosy (*kuṣṭha*), tumours (*gulama*, *golā*¹⁸²), fever (*jura*), constipation (*gudāvarta*), indigestion (*ajīrṇa*), hiccup (*hiḍakī*¹⁸³), pain in the head and eyes (*sirānetra dūṣai*), blindness (*andha*), knee pain (*goḍā pīḍa*), deafness (*baharāpaṇa*), sinus diseases (*nāsā roga*), dropsy (*jalandhara roga*¹⁸⁴), counteracting the cold (*joḍo*), reducing body heat (*tapata tana*) and so on. It should also be noted that certain

¹⁷⁸ *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 1.54d.

Cf. *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*: 1.79f (सर्वव्याधिविषापह).

¹⁷⁹ *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 1.27, edition p. 1a): मत्स्येन्द्रपीठं जठरप्रदीप्तिं प्रचण्डरुग्मण्डलखण्डनास्त्रम्। अभ्यासतः कुण्डलिनीप्रबोधं चन्द्रस्थिरत्वं च ददाति पुंसाम्.

¹⁸⁰ Mallinson 2013b: 227 f. See also Dominik Wujastyk 2017.

¹⁸¹ On the proliferation of *āsana*, see Birch 2018a.

¹⁸² The literal meaning of *golā* is lump.

¹⁸³ I am assuming that this is an alternative spelling for *hicakī*.

¹⁸⁴ See *Jogapradīpyakā*: 146 and 269. As far as I am aware, a disease by the name *jalandhara* does not occur in another text. However, one wonders whether the author of the *Jogapradīpyakā* is referring to diseases of the *jālandharā*, which is one of the tubes (*sirā*) in the body (see HIML: 1A: 524).

āsanas accomplish the more important aims of Yoga, such as purifying the channels (*nāḍī*), body and mind, raising *kuṇḍalinī*, inducing *samādhi*, retaining semen, experiencing gnosis of the guru's teachings (*sabadajñāna*) and so on.

Nonetheless, those *āsanas* which heal diseases are not presented within a regime of treatment, which might involve special modifications of diet and lifestyle, as well as taking medicines and other remedies, for the sake of curing a disease. Although dietary recommendations are given by various Yoga texts in the context of practising *āsana*, such advice is often said to be important only at the beginning of one's practice.¹⁸⁵ Therefore, in the context of Yoga, dietary advice is aimed more towards facilitating the practice rather than for curing ailments, as seen in Ayurveda.

THE SIX THERAPEUTIC ACTIONS (ṢAṬKARMA) OF HAṬHAYOGA

Unlike the role of Yogic *āsanas*, which were integral to the practice of *prāṇāyāma* and meditation, the *ṣaṭkarma* appear to have been incorporated into Haṭhayoga solely for their curative effects. The earliest textual evidence for the *ṣaṭkarma* is the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. The fact that this text is an anthology suggests that these six practices derive from an earlier source, which may no longer be extant. Svātmārāma included the *ṣaṭkarma* in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s chapter on *prāṇāyāma* as a preliminary practice for the eight breath retentions (*kumbhaka*). However, the verse which introduces the *ṣaṭkarma* stipulates their specific role in the practice of Yoga:

One who has excess fat or phlegm should first practise the *ṣaṭkarma*. However, other [people] should not practise them when their humours (i.e., phlegm, wind and bile¹⁸⁶) are in a balanced state [in relation to one another].¹⁸⁷

This verse indicates that the *ṣaṭkarma* are preliminary practices only for those who are not healthy. Therefore, they are more like therapeutic interventions that are dispensed with as soon as the practitioner regains health. The therapeutic role of the *ṣaṭkarma* is further implied by the fact that Svātmārāma places them immediately after two verses on the types of diseases caused by the improper practice of *prāṇāyāma*, such as hiccups, dyspnoea, coughing and pain in the head,

¹⁸⁵ For example, *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 2.14, *Śivasamhitā*: 3.42, *Gheraṇḍasamhitā*: 5.32, etc. There is also the idea that mastering certain techniques, such as *mahāmudrā*, enable one to eat anything (e.g., *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*: 60–61).

¹⁸⁶ This reading is supported by Brahmānanda's *Jyotsnā*: (दोषाणां वातपित्तकफानाम्).

¹⁸⁷ *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 2.21, edition p. 44 मेद-
श्लेष्माधिकः पूर्वं षट्कर्माणि समाचरेत्। अन्यस्तु नाचरे-
त्तानि दोषाणां समभावतः.

ears and eyes.¹⁸⁸ However, as is often the case in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, Svātmārāma also presents the alternative view that all impurities and diseases can be cured by *prāṇāyāma* alone. Therefore, he says, some teachers (*ācārya*) do not teach other practices, such as the *ṣaṭkarma*.¹⁸⁹

The *ṣaṭkarma* consists of cleansing the stomach with cloth (*vastradhauti*), emesis (*gajakaraṇī*), a water enema (*jalabasti*), cleansing the sinuses with thread (*sūtraneti*), gazing at a fixed point (*trāṭaka*), churning the abdomen (*nauli*) and rapid breathing (*kapālabhāti*). Although this list contains seven practices, it appears that *gajakaraṇī* was considered a variation of *dhauti*.¹⁹⁰ The inclusion of emesis and enema in the *ṣaṭkarma* raises the question of whether these practices were inspired by Ayurveda, because similar treatments figure among therapies in the *Carakasamhitā* and *Suśrutasamhitā*. The obvious difference between these two practices in Haṭhayoga and Ayurveda is that the former uses only water, whereas the latter administers herbal treatments for inducing emesis and for preparing the enematic fluid.¹⁹¹

However, there is a more significant difference between the *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s *ṣaṭkarma* and Āyurvedic therapies. Generally speaking, the *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s descriptions of the *ṣaṭkarma* indicate that they were fashioned by and specifically for yogins to heal themselves. For example, *gajakaraṇī* (literally, "the elephant's action"¹⁹²) requires that the yogin raise abdominal vitality (i.e., *apānavāyu*) to the throat and then control all the channels of the body (*nāḍīcakra*)¹⁹³ through

188 *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 2.16cd–17. These verses were probably borrowed from the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*: 121cd–22.

189 *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 2.38. This view is supported elsewhere in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* with statements that *prāṇāyāma* can cure all diseases (e.g., 2.16ab).

190 All the reported manuscripts of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* in Kaivalyadhama's critical edition place *gajakaraṇī* directly after *dhauti*, which is the first of the *ṣaṭkarmas*. However, in Brahmānanda's *Jyotsnā*, *gajakaraṇī* is placed as the last *ṣaṭkarma*. The close association of *gajakaraṇī* with *dhauti* is affirmed by a more recent text, the *Gheraṇḍasamhitā*: 1.38–39, in which both *vastradhauti* and emesis (*vamana*) are two variations of *dhauti* for the heart (*hrddhauti*).

191 The drugs to be used for emesis are listed at *Carakasamhitā*: Sū.2.7 and Si.3.35–71, and a detailed account of how the drugs

are administered and the mode of treatment is given at *Carakasamhitā*: Sū.15.6–16. Cf. *Suśrutasamhitā*: Ci.33. On enemas, the drugs to be used are listed at *Carakasamhitā*: Vi.8.137–150 and details on preparing the drugs, administering them, etc., are given in *Carakasamhitā*: Si.10. Cf. *Suśrutasamhitā*: Ci.35–36.

192 Some manuscripts have *jalakaraṇī* instead of *gajakaraṇī* (see *Haṭhapradīpikā*: edition p. 46, n. 60). The name *gajakaraṇī* may have come about because the practitioner emits a stream of water from the mouth as an elephant would from its trunk.

193 It is not entirely clear what *nāḍīcakra* (spelt elsewhere as *nāḍīcakra*) refers to in *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 2.26. Brahmānanda does not gloss it for this verse, but does so when it appears in verse 2.5, where he says it is the totality of *nāḍīs* (नाडीनां चक्रं समूहः). The

gradual practice, in order to vomit the contents (*padārtha*) of his stomach.¹⁹⁴ In Ayurveda, such a treatment would be impracticable because it could not be prescribed by a physician for a patient who had not undergone the training to control their body in this way. The same might be said for the Haṭhayogic water enema, which requires that the yogin assume a half-squatting posture (called *utkaṭāsana*) in a river¹⁹⁵ and create an internal abdominal vacuum to draw in the water.¹⁹⁶ Also, both *navli* and *kapālabhāti* depend on a high degree of abdominal control that might only be possible after a period of sustained practice. Therefore, the main difference between Ayurvedic remedies and the *ṣaṭkarma* is that the former was designed to be administered by a physician on a patient whereas the latter was intended to be self-administered by the yogin.

In the centuries following the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, the increasing importance of the *ṣaṭkarma* in Haṭhayoga is reflected by the prevalence and proliferation of their techniques in texts of the late corpus. For example, the *Haṭharatnāvalī*: 1.26–58 teaches eight techniques (*aṣṭakarma*) and a few variations,¹⁹⁷ and the *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā*: 1.12–59 teaches over twenty by integrating many additional practices as variations of each of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s *ṣaṭkarma*.¹⁹⁸ However, the most ambitious attempt to extend the *ṣaṭkarma* is found in a text called the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*, which incorporated some additional Ayurvedic practices to build a repertoire of thirty-seven therapeutic techniques for Yoga practitioners. The author's unabashed efforts to transform a set of six techniques into a collection (*saṅgraha*) of several dozen appears to have resulted in the unexpected name, "A Collection of Good Practices" (*satkarmasaṅgraha*) rather than a collection of verses on the *ṣaṭkarma* (i.e., *ṣaṭkarmasaṅgraha*).

meaning of this compound in earlier Tantric sources varies from the totality of the channels in the body (Rastelli and Dominic Goodall 2013: 268) to a particular nexus of channels, sometimes consisting of the ten main channels in the body (*Agnipurāṇa* 214.1–5). Also, some sources locate it in the abdomen and others in the heart or the *mūlādhāra* region (see Rastelli and Dominic Goodall 2013: 268 f.).

194 *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 2.26.

195 *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 2.27. Brahmananda adds the detail that the water is that of a "river, etc." (*nadyādito*). One would expect the yogin to be squatting in flowing water.

196 This internal vacuum is not mentioned

in *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 2.27. However, it enables the yogin to suck the water through the tube that is inserted into the colon. See Kuvalayananda et al. 1924–1925; Bernard 1950: 38; Rosmarynowski 1981.

197 The eight include the seven techniques of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (i.e., both *dhauti* and *gajakaraṇī*) and *cakrikarma*. The *Haṭharatnāvalī* also teaches two types of *navli*, two types of enema (i.e., air and water) and an additional way of practising *gajakaraṇī* and *kapālabhāstrika* (otherwise known as *kapālabhāti*).

198 The verse which lists the *ṣaṭkarma* in the *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā*: 1.12 is almost the same as that in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 2.22.

The *Satkarmasaṅgraha*'s date of composition and the name of its author are not clear. One manuscript is dated in the *bhūtasāṅkhyā* system as 881, which is probably 1881 (i.e., 1824 CE).¹⁹⁹ If this holds true, the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* was likely composed in the eighteenth century.²⁰⁰ At the beginning of the text, the author states his name as Cidghanānandanātha and then Raghuvīra at the end. The *ānandanātha* suffix of the first name suggests that that person was a *kaula* initiate belonging to the Dakṣiṇāmṇāya.²⁰¹ His Śaiva affiliation is further supported by the invocation to Śiva in the opening verse of the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*.²⁰² Also, many of this text's techniques, including the water enema, are attributed to Śiva.²⁰³ His guru was named Gaganānandanātha, whom he says taught him the texts of Lords (*nātha*), Sages (*muni*) and great Siddhas such as Gorakṣanātha.²⁰⁴

199 The scribal comment is reported in the Kaivalyadhama edition of the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 50 n. 126: वस्वष्टैकमितेऽब्देऽस्मिन्शुक्लपक्षोज्जमासके, which can be understood as the bright half of the month Kārttika in the year 881. If one assumes that the intended year was 1881 (i.e., *ekavasaṣṭaika*), one can then assume that it must be the *vikramasaṃvat* era because the library acquired the manuscript between 1884 and 1895 CE (Harshe (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: iv)). Therefore, the date of this manuscript would be 1824 CE.

200 As far as I am aware, verses of the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* have not been borrowed or cited in any other Yoga text, which leads me to suspect that it is a more recent work. However, I am yet to establish a firm *terminus a quo* for it. Reddy 1982a: 37 argues that the practice of *cakrikarma* was invented by the seventeenth-century Śrīnivāsa, because Śrīnivāsa states this in his *Haṭharatnāvalī* at 1.31ab (सर्वेषां कर्मणां चक्रिसाधनं प्रोच्यते मया). Be this as it may, I have not found any textual parallels between the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* and the *Haṭharatnāvalī*. Furthermore, the former teaches three types of *cakrī* (*ūrdhva*, *madhya* and *adhah*) and only the last of them corresponds in some way with Śrīnivāsa's *cakrikarma*, though the wording is different and some significant details are added. Furthermore, the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 40ab says that Dhūrjaṭi, who is not mentioned by Śrīnivāsa, is the source of its teachings on *adhaścakrī* (see foot-

note 206). In dating the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*, Meulenbeld (HIML: IIA: 299) follows Reddy (1982a) and reports (HIML: IIA: 761) that Cidghanānandanātha's guru was Gahanānandanātha, whereas Harshe's edition (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 2) has Gaganānandanātha with no variants reported.

201 Mallinson 2007a: 166 n. 6.

202 *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 1: "I bow to lord Ādinātha, who wrote the scripture [called] the *Mahākālayaya* because of his compassion for his own devotees" (य आदिनाथो भगवान्निजभक्तानुकम्पया। महाकालजयं शास्त्रं कृतवान्तं नमाम्यहम्). The claim that Śiva wrote a scripture possibly called the *Mahākālayaya* is intriguing. It may refer to the *Mahākālayogaśāstra* (an unknown text to which the *Khecarīvidyā* has been ascribed) or the *Mahākālasaṃhitā*, to which various other works have been ascribed (Mallinson 2007a: 12; Kiss 2009: 44 f.).

203 In the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*'s descriptions of *vamana*, *vireka*, *śālākya*, *raktasrāva*, *karaṇāpyāyanāni*, *āścyotana*, *jaladhārā*, the seven auxiliaries of *vajroli*, the auxiliaries and mantras of *khecarīmudrā*, *kaśākarma*, *bhrāntibhastra*, *antarbhastrā*, *nālanaulī*, *snehana* and *jalabasti*, these techniques are ascribed to Śiva.

204 *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 2–3 (भगवद्गनानन्दनाथपादाम्बुजद्वयम्। यत्प्रसादात्कृतार्थोऽस्मि तं मूर्ध्ना प्रणमाम्यहम्॥ २॥ गोरक्षादिमहासिद्धैर्नाथैर्मुनिवरैरपि। स्वस्वग्रन्थेषु यत्प्रोक्तं तं लब्ध्वा गुरुतोऽखिलम्).

However, the concluding verses (148–9) of the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* state that it was composed by Raghuvīra, who may have done so for a royal family related to north-Indian Brahmins (*dvijodīcyā*).²⁰⁵ Also, these verses refer to the work as a manual (*paddhati*) rather than a collection (*saṅgraha*). Although I am yet to find parallel verses with other texts, there is evidence in the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* which indicates that it is a poorly redacted compilation.²⁰⁶ Therefore, the confusion over authorship may have been the result of poor redacting in the process of combining two different texts (i.e., Cidghanānandanātha's *Satkarmasaṅgraha* with Raghuvīra's *Karmapaddhati*).²⁰⁷

The *Satkarmasaṅgraha* is undoubtedly a text written for Yoga practitioners. As the following passage demonstrates, it addresses yogins and their practice of Yoga:

When people suppress their senses²⁰⁸ by restraining their breaths or when they practise *khecari* or the attaining of *vajroli*, diseases arise

²⁰⁵ *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 148–9 “[This] excellent collection of [therapeutic] techniques has been briefly taught thus by the learned Raghuvīra because of the favour of the venerable lord. It is the remover of obstacles in the [practice of] breath retentions and [Haṭhayogic] *mudrās*. The venerable family of the king, whose relatives are northern Brahmins named this excellent guidebook of techniques, which purifies the body” (इति संक्षेपतः प्रोक्तः कर्मणां सङ्ग्रहः परः । विदुषा रघुवीरेण श्री-मन्नाथप्रसादतः ॥ कुम्भकेष्वपि मुद्रासु प्रत्यहं विनिवारकः । इति श्रीमद्विजोदीच्यज्ञातिराजकुलोऽभ्यधातुः । देहशुद्धिकरमेतां कर्मणां पद्धतिं पराम् ॥ -कुलोऽभ्यधातु] conj. : -कुलाभिधातु Codex).

²⁰⁶ The *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 14 states that its techniques have been taught by Dhūrjaṭi in order to directly enhance the welfare of people (अथ वक्ष्यामि कर्माणि योगिनां योगसिद्धये । यान्याह धूर्जटिः साक्षाल्लोकानुग्रहेतवे) and the verses on *adhaścakrī* (37cd–40ab) may be quoted (*iti*) from an unknown text called “Instructions on Yoga” (*yogaśāsana*) by Dhūrjaṭi. Also, the author states that the practices of smoking (*dhūma*), snuffs (*nasya*), holding a mouthful of solution (*kavalagraha*) and enemas (*basti*) have been taught, in some cases more extensively, in another text by the same author called the *Miśraśaka*.

²⁰⁷ Harshe (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: iv) proposes that the author's pre-initiation name was Raghuvīra and post-initiation, Cidghanānandanātha. However, in my view, the corruption in the last verse of the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* (i.e., -कुलाभिधातु) as well as the fact that several passages of the text are clearly unrelated to its topic (e.g., 46–47ab, 59cd–66 and 69–71ab) suggest that the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* as we now have it was poorly redacted, and this has produced the confusion over the author's name.

²⁰⁸ The term *karaṇa* usually means “actions” and could be understood as such here (i.e., when people restrain their actions). However, seeing that this “restraint” or “suppression” is being caused by holding the breath and that, more generally speaking, *prāṇāyāma* often precedes sensory withdrawal (*pratyāhāra*), I suspect that *karaṇa* means “the senses” here. Furthermore, *karaṇa* is used to mean “senses” in other passages of this text. For example, *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 101cd–102, 105cd (अथ करणाप्यायनानि । गोघृतं केसरोन्मिश्रं नासाप्यायनमुच्यते ॥ १०१ ॥ आज्यं शर्करया युक्तं रसनाप्यायनं स्मृतं । दुग्धा-प्लाविततूलेन नयनाप्यायनं परम् ॥ १०२ ॥ [...] करणस्य तु दैवत्यं संस्मरेत्तत्र सिद्धिदम्).

[even] for a sage because of negligence in [following] what is wholesome and [avoiding] what is unwholesome (*pathyāpathya*); carelessness in regard to the [proper] time and place [of practice] or because of chance obstacles in the world. These [diseases] can be cured by practising *āsanas* and by divine medicines.²⁰⁹ In the case that he is unsuccessful, the best of yogins should drive [them] away with the divine [therapeutic] techniques [taught in this text].²¹⁰

In the above passage, the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* presents its techniques as treatments that one should resort to when other methods, notably including the practice of *āsana*, have failed. Other texts also abandon the preliminary role of the *śaṭkarma*, which was stipulated in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. For example, in the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*, six sequences of *āsanas* are taught to make the yogin fit for the practice of the *śaṭkarma*.²¹¹ However, the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* goes on to say that the therapeutic role of its techniques is not only for yogins who fall sick because of negligence or chance obstacles, but also for those who injure themselves in the practice of Yoga:

A wise person who has knowledge of the body, skill in the practice of [holding] the breath and has obtained [this] expertise with the favour of good teachers should practise [these] divine techniques for healing harm [that arises] in the practice of *kumbhakas*, *āsanas* and *mudrās*. [Owing to the practice of these techniques], purification of the channels quickly occurs and even the prevention of [further] harm.²¹²

209 These divine medicines (*divyabheṣaja*) might be referring to divine herbs (*divyauṣadhi*), which are listed and discussed in the *Carakasamhitā*: Ci.1.4.6–26. Divine herbs are alluded to in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Ci.30. I would like to thank Dagmar Wujastyk for these references.

210 *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 5–7, edition p. 3 वायूनां रोधनेनापि करणानां विनिग्रहे। खेचरीसाधने नृणां वज्रोत्तिसिद्धिसाधने॥ पथ्यापथ्यप्रमादैर्वा देशकालप्रमादतः। देवविघ्नेन वा लोके जायन्ते व्याधयो मुनेः॥ तासां निवारणं कार्यम् आसनेर्दिव्यभेषजैः। तत्राप्यसिद्धो योगीन्द्रो चालयेदिव्यकर्मभिः।

211 *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*: f. 2v: “Now, the postures are described for the sake of attaining the ability [to do] the *śaṭkarma*” (अथ षट्कर्मयोग्यताप्रतिपादनायासनानि लिख्यन्ते). Also, after the descriptions of the *āsanas*, the text says (f. 23r): “When bodily strength has been

achieved through the practice of postures, one should do the *śaṭkarma*” (आसनाभ्यासेन शारीरदाढ्यं सति षट्कर्माणि कुर्यात्). This eighteenth-century text teaches more than the usual six techniques found in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. It adds *bhṛāmaṇakriyā*, the eating of wholesome food as prescribed in Ayurvedic texts (*vaidyagrantha*) and *āḡhāraśuddhikriyā*. At the end of the section on the *śaṭkarma*, it says (f. 24v): “After the practice of the *śaṭkarma*, one should do the eight breath retentions for success in the ten *mudrā*” (कर्मषट्काभ्यासानन्तरं दशमुद्रासिद्धये अष्टविधकुम्भकान् कुर्यात्).

212 *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 8cd–10, edition p. 4 शारीरज्ञानसंपन्नः कुशलो वायुसाधने॥ सद्गुरुणां प्रसादेन प्राप्तविद्यो महामतिः। कुम्भानामासनानां च करणानां च साधने॥ निवृत्तये व्यापदां वा दिव्यकर्माणि साधयेत्। शीघ्रं नाडीविशुद्धिः स्याद्व्यापदामप्यनुद्भवः।

The *Satkarmasaṅgraha*'s intended audience of yogins is again affirmed at the end of the text when its entire collection of techniques is described as a remover of obstacles in the practice of *kumbhakas* and Haṭhayogic *mudrās*.²¹³

The special Yogic abilities required by a practitioner of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s *ṣaṭkarma* give way in the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* to the use of medicinal herbs, oils, snuffs, mouthwashes and even a surgical instrument (*śālākā*). Ayurvedic methods in the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* are distinctly apparent. Although the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* does not mention or allude to an Ayurvedic text, it does mention the celestial physicians several times: Dhanvantari is said to be lord of surgery and his favour (*prasāda*) is necessary for the success of a water treatment (*jaladhārā*) for wounds. Also, the yogin is advised to meditate on the two Aśvins when cleaning the sinuses with a thread (*netī*).²¹⁴ The *Satkarmasaṅgraha*'s medically inspired techniques include massage with oils (*mardana*),²¹⁵ surgery (*śālākya*),²¹⁶ vomiting with emetics (*vamana*),²¹⁷ purgation with purgative drugs (*virecana*),²¹⁸ bloodletting (*raktaśrava*),²¹⁹ herbal eye drops (*āścyotana*),²²⁰ gargling with herbal waters (*gaṇḍūṣa*),²²¹ oleation (*snehana*),²²² sudation using salts, sand or medicaments (*svedana*),²²³ sudation using burning charcoal in a pot (*vārāha*),²²⁴ medicinal smoking (*dhūma*),²²⁵ errhines (*nasya*),²²⁶ medicated mouthwashes (*kavala*)²²⁷ and enemas for the eyes, ears, head, penis and bowels, some of which

213 *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 149ab. See footnote 205.

214 *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 67, 84 and 107–8.

215 Cf. *Carakasamhitā*: Sū.5.85–92 (स्रेहाभ्य-
ङ्ग); *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Ci.5.85–92 (*saṃvāhana*).

216 In the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 81–6, *śālākya* involves the use of a sharp iron instrument (*tikṣṇaḥśālākā*) for removing impurities (*mala*) in the eyes, earwax (*karnagūṭha*) and for cleaning wounds (*vraṇa*). Various instruments (*śālākāyantra*) are discussed in *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Sū.7.5, 14.

217 See footnote 191.

218 Cf. *Carakasamhitā*: Sū.4, 15, Ka.7, etc. *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Sū.44, etc.

219 The term in Ayurvedic sources is usually *raktaviśrāvaṇa*. See *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Sū.14.23–38.

220 Cf. *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Utt.9.11cd–13ab, 18.44–48, etc.

221 Cf. *Carakasamhitā*: Sū.5.78–80 ; *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Ci.24.14, 40.58–71.

222 Cf. *Carakasamhitā*: Sū.22 etc; *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Ci.31.38–57.

223 On sudation in general, see *Carakasamhitā*: Sū.14.

224 *Vārāhakarma* (the “boar’s therapy”) involves placing an earthen pot, in which there is burning charcoal (*ulmuka*), on the supine yogin’s abdomen, which has been smeared with oil (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 79ab). It may well have been inspired by the Ayurvedic practice of sudation called *tāpasveda*, which is described in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Ci.32.4 as: “Of [these four kinds of sudation], sudation with heat (*tāpasveda*) is applied by hands, bell metal, a pan, a bowl (*kapāla*), sand or cloth. The heating of the body of the supine [patient] is [done] repeatedly with Acacia wood charcoal” (तत्र तापस्वेदः पाणिकांस्यकन्दुककपालवालुकावस्त्रैः प्रयुज्यते। शयानस्य चाङ्गतापो बहुशः खादिराङ्गारैर् इति). I wish to thank Dagmar Wujastyk for this reference and her translation of it.

225 Cf. *Carakasamhitā*: Sū.5.20cd–56ab, etc. *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Ci.40.

226 Cf. *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Ci.40.20–43.

227 See footnote 221.

use medicated oils.²²⁸ Integrated with these, are distinctly Yogic *ṣaṭkarma* (as seen in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*), which have been extended beyond those of earlier texts with the addition of many new practices and variations. A good example of this divarication of the basic *ṣaṭkarma* can be seen in the three varieties of *navli* described in the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*. The first called *bāhyanauli* corresponds to the *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s *navli*, but the two following it, namely *nālanauli* and *āntranauli*, have no antecedents as far as I am aware:

Now, *navli* [is taught]. One should move the abdomen left and right at the speed of a rapid whirlpool. It was taught by Śiva, [but] here the tutelary deity is Lakṣmī. This is the external *navli* (*bāhyanauli*). It stimulates the digestive fire, increases [the body's] fire, advances breath retentions and cooks consumed food.²²⁹

Having united and correctly isolated both tube-like muscles (*nalau*)²³⁰ according to the guru's teachings, [the yogin] should draw them upwards. Thus, *nālanauli* has been taught by Śiva. This supreme secret should not be given to just anyone.

Having sat on a three-legged stool, [the yogin] should rub the lower abdomen and stomach. This is the internal *navli* (*āntranauli*), which brings success in *maṇibandha*.²³¹

228 See footnote 191.

229 Cf. *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 2.34–35: “Now, *navli* [is taught]. With shoulders bent forward, [the yogin] should rotate the abdomen left and right with the speed of a rapid whirlpool. This *navli* is taught by the Siddhas. It is effective for stimulating a weak digestive fire, cooking [ingested food] and so on. It always produces bliss and removes all faults and diseases. *Navli* is the crown of Haṭhayogic practices” (अथ नौलिः। अमन्दावर्तवेगेन तुन्दं सव्यापसव्यतः। नतांसो भ्रामये-
देषा नौलिः सिद्धेः प्रचक्ष्यते। मन्दाग्निसन्दीपनपाचनादि-
सन्धायिकानन्दकरी सदैव। अशेषदोषामयशोषणी च ह-
ठक्रियामौलिरियं च नौलिः).

230 I am not entirely sure of the meaning of *nala* here. It appears to be referring to the *rectus abdominis* muscles, which protrude when *navli* is performed. The fact that *nala* is in the dual case would suggest that the author knew that the *rectus abdominis* is a

paired muscle.

231 *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 110–114, edition pp. 39–40 अथ नौलिः। अमन्दावर्तवेगेन जठरं दक्षवामयोः॥ ११०॥ चालयेच्छंभुना प्रोक्तं तत्र लक्ष्म्यधि-
देवता। बाह्यनौलिरियं प्रोक्ता जठरानलदीपिनी॥ १११॥
अग्निसंधायका कुम्भकरी भुक्तान्नपाचिनी। एकीकृत्य नलौ
सम्यगुत्थाप्य गुरुमार्गतः॥ ११२॥ ऊर्ध्वमाकर्षयेत्तेन
नालनौलिः शिवोदिता। इदं रहस्यं परमं न देयं यस्य कस्य
चित्॥ ११३॥ त्रिपदासनकं बद्धा बस्तिनुन्दौ विघर्षयेत्।
आन्त्रनौलिरियं प्रोक्ता मणिवन्धप्रसिद्धिदा॥ ११४॥
नौलिः] corr. : नौली Ed. 113b नालनौलिः] corr.
: नालनौली Ed. बस्तिनुन्दौ विघर्षयेत्] diagnostic
conj. : बस्तिनुन्दविघर्षणात् Ed. The meaning
of *maṇibandhaprasiddhidā* is not clear to me. The term *maṇibandha* usually refers
to the wrist. One wonders whether it is a corruption of the cliché *aṇimādiprasiddhidā*
(i.e., it bestows the supernatural powers beginning with minimization).

In addition to *navli*, the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*'s expanded repertoire of the *ṣaṭ-karma* include three types of *cakrī*,²³² *bhastrā* (i.e., *kapālabhātī*),²³³ *troṭana*,²³⁴ two types of *siddhikāraṇī*²³⁵ and *netī*,²³⁶ as well as the practices of *kaśā*,²³⁷ *netrī*,²³⁸ *kasana*,²³⁹ *ṣṭhīvāna*,²⁴⁰ *nāsādanti*,²⁴¹ *udgāra*,²⁴² *śīrāsaṅcālana*,²⁴³ *karaṇāpyāyana*²⁴⁴ and *jaladhāra*.²⁴⁵ Other practices of Hatha yoga such as *khecari* and *vajroli mudrās* are mentioned but not described in any detail.

The *Satkarmasaṅgraha* does not mention whether a physician is needed to administer the Ayurvedic techniques it incorporated. Instead, the work presents it-

232 *Ūrdhvacakrī* is cleaning the palate (*tālu*) with the thumb (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 32ab-35ab); *madhyacakrī* is cleaning the tongue and back of the throat with a finger (35cd-37ab) and *adhaścakrī* is cleaning the anus with the forefinger (37cd-40ab).

233 Rapid breathing (like a bellows) with the head held steady is called *sthira bhastrā*; with the heading moving is *bhrāntibhastrā* and internally (i.e., with the tip of the nose closed) is *antar bhastrā* (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 50cd-54).

234 *Ūrdhvatroṭana* seems to be some sort of threatening movement of the hands to the left and right, while visualizing the wind's wife (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 71cd-72ab: वामदक्षिणतो हस्तौ तर्जयेद्वायुवल्लभाम् ॥ सच्चित्योर्ध्वत्रोटकं कर्म श्रीशम्भुतोदितम् ॥ I am not sure of the meaning of this verse, but suspect that one should read सच्चित्योर्ध्व- and श्रीशम्भुतोदितम्). When done on the hips (*kaṭi*) it is *cakratroṭana* and with the feet and hands, *sarvāṅgatroṭana* (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 72cd-73ab).

235 *Ūrdhvasiddhikāraṇī* begins with drinking water, then performing *navli* and expelling the water through the anus. *Adhaśsiddhikāraṇī* is the opposite; water is taken in through the anus, *navli* is performed and then it is expelled through the oesophagus (*kaṇṭhanāla*). It results in more *siddhis* than most of the other techniques. The author adds that this divine purification was taught by Rāghava, after he saw the ancient texts whose doctrine was of the Nāthas (ग्रन्थान्दृष्ट्वा प्राक्तनान्नथमार्गान्, शुद्धिर्दिव्या राघवेण प्रणीता). See *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 87-92ab.

236 The two types of *netī* are distinguished by whether the thread (*sūtra*) is turned about or not (*vartitāvartita*) during the practice (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 67-68).

237 *Kaśā* is similar to *netī*. The difference seems to be that the string is to be rubbed (*gharṣayet*) when it has been inserted through the nose (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 42cd-43).

238 *Netrī* is threading a string into the left nostril and pulling it out the right (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 44ab-45).

239 *Kasana* is coughing forcefully (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 47cd-48).

240 *Ṣṭhīvāna* is expectoration using *udāna*, in which case phlegm is emitted from the throat or palate, and *prāna*, which draws phlegm from the abdomen (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 49-50ab).

241 *Nāsādanti* is drinking water through the right and left nostrils, and expelling it through the mouth (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 55).

242 *Udgāra* is forceful eructation (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 74).

243 *Śīrāsaṅcālana* is moving the breath through all the body's tubes (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 75).

244 *Karaṇāpyāyana* is the taking of various concoctions, mostly consisting of ghee, sugar, milk, etc., to revive the sensory organs (i.e., the nose, eyes, ears, skin and genitals). See *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 101cd-104.

245 *Jaladhāra* is a water treatment, in which a pot is placed on the abdomen and water poured from above. Cold water is used for fever and hot water for pain (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 106cd-107).

self as a collection of self-administered therapeutic interventions for yogins who were ill or had injured themselves through the practice of Yoga.

PREMODERN YOGA THERAPY (YOGACIKITSĀ)

Apart from the *ṣaṭkarma*, there is evidence for one other significant development of a distinctly Yogic therapy, which was called such (i.e., *cikitsā*). This therapy is described in a chapter appended to the *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s four chapters in two manuscripts. The colophons of both manuscripts mistakenly entitle it as a section on herbs.²⁴⁶ It was undoubtedly added to the *Haṭhapradīpikā* at a more recent time, most probably at the beginning of the eighteenth century, judging by the date of one of these two manuscripts.²⁴⁷ Seeing that very few catalogue entries report of a *Haṭhapradīpikā* with five chapters, it is probable that the chapter on therapy had only a brief association with this Haṭha text. The chapter has been taken from a Śaiva text called the *Dharmaputrikā*, which teaches a system of Yoga with six auxiliaries (*ṣaḍaṅga*) for the Śaiva laity.²⁴⁸ The *Dharmaputrikā* is sometimes included in bundles of manuscripts of the Śivadharmā corpus, and it must have been composed earlier than the mid-eleventh century on the basis of two dated manuscripts.²⁴⁹ The fact that its chapter on therapy was attached to at least two manuscripts of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* suggests that it had some currency amongst yogins from the sixteenth to eighteenth century, possibly because of their interest in the practical application of its therapy for curing illness.

The aim of this therapy is to cure imbalances of the humours in relation to one another caused by a yogin's negligence (*pramāda*).²⁵⁰ Negligence while practising

²⁴⁶ This chapter has been edited and published (as the fifth chapter) in Kaivalyadhama's edition of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (first published in 1970). They used two manuscripts for this chapter. The first is from the Pune University Library (Mahajan 1986: 1: #2402) and the editors report the following colophon: इति श्रीस्वात्मारामयोगेन्द्रविरचितायां हठप्रदीपिकायां औषधप्रयोगं नाम पञ्चमोपदेशः. And the second is from the Sārvaṇanik Vācanālaya, Nāsik (no catalogue number) and its colophon: इति श्रीस्वात्मारामयोगेन्द्रविरचितायां हठप्रदीपिकायां औषधकथनं नाम पञ्चमोपदेशः.

²⁴⁷ The manuscript at the Sārvaṇanik Vācanālaya, Nāsik is dated śaka 1628, which is approximately 1706 CE.

²⁴⁸ I wish to thank Christèle Barois for in-

forming me that the *Dharmaputrikā* has a chapter on therapy (*cikitsā*). She is working on this text for the *AyurYog Project* and will publish an article called "Medical Practices of Yogins in Medieval India: The Testimony of the *Dharmaputrikā*" that will contain a more detailed discussion on its content and place in the *Śivadharmā* corpus (personal communication, 31.10.2015).

²⁴⁹ One manuscript, MS Kathmandu NAK 3/393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), is dated [Nepal] Saṃvat 189 (1069 CE), and the other, MS Calcutta, AS G4077, is dated to [Nepal] Saṃvat 156 (1035–1036 CE) Shastri (1928: 718–23). I wish to thank Peter Bisschop for these references (personal communication 25.3.2016).

²⁵⁰ *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 5.1: "For [the yogin]

Yoga may make the breath stray from its normal path in the body, causing a blockage (*granthi*) and then various diseases, which are obstacles to Yoga.²⁵¹ The method of treatment proposed is very simple:

In whatever place pain arises because of disease, one should meditate with the mind on the breath in that place. Having meditated on it with a one-pointed mind, [the yogin] should breathe in and out completely, carefully [and] according to his capacity. Having performed many exhalations and inhalations again and again, he should draw out the breath that has accumulated [there], as one [would draw out accumulated] fluid from the ear with water.²⁵²

This method is distinctly Yogic insofar as it relies on the yogin's ability to meditate and manipulate the breath. Other verses in the chapter provide further advice on diet, the practice of *kumbhaka*, *prāṇāyāma* in a supine position and the various diseases that can be cured by this therapy. A significant comment on this therapy's relation to Ayurveda is made towards the end of the chapter, when the yogin is advised to perform this Yogic therapy (*yogacikitsā*) in addition to taking the treatments prescribed in Ayurvedic texts (*vaidyāśāstra*). Therefore, it appears

who is negligent when practising, [an imbalance in] wind, [bile or phlegm] arises. He should ascertain the flow of the breath for the treatment of that imbalance" (प्रमादी युञ्जते यस्तु वातादिस्तस्य जायते। तद्दोषस्य चिकित्सार्थं गतिं वायोरनिरूपयेत्॥ निरूपयेत्] *Dharmaputrikā* : निरूप्यते Ed.).

²⁵¹ *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 5.5: "Because of negligence, the yogin's breath [might] have proceeded along the wrong path. When it has not taken the [right] path, it becomes a blockage and remains [there]. Then, arise various diseases which cause obstacles" (प्रमादाद्योगिनो वायुरुन्मार्गेण प्रवर्तितः। यदा मार्गमनासाद्य ग्रन्थीभूत्वावतिष्ठते। तदा नानाविधा रोगा जायन्ते विघ्नकारकाः॥ यदा] *Dharmaputrikā* : तदा Ed.)

Negligence (*pramāda*) is not properly explained in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. However, in earlier chapters, the *Dharmaputrikā* explains that negligence gives rise to one of four types of obstacle (*pramāda-jānatārāya*). This type of obstacle seems to relate to a concen-

tration practice (*dhāraṇā*) explained in the third chapter. It involves moving the vital breaths (*prāṇa*) through a series of joints (*parvan*), starting at the big toes, moving up through the body to the eighteenth joint at the top of the head and then moving beyond that to the twenty-eighth joint, which is the world of Brahma (*brahmaloka*). The seventh chapter asserts that if a yogin happens to be negligent while practising this sequence of concentration, the breath may settle in a place that has not been mastered (*ajita*), and this causes diseases to arise in the body, which gives rise to hindrances (*vighna*).

²⁵² *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 5.9–11, edition pp. 183 f.) यस्मिन्यस्मिन् समुद्देशे रुजा बाधा प्रजायते। तस्मिन्देशे स्थितं वायुं मनसा परिचिन्तयेत्॥ एकचित्तेन तं ध्यात्वा पूरयेत्पूरकेण तु। निःशेषं रेचकं कुर्याद्यथाशक्त्या प्रयत्नतः॥ बहुधा रेचकं कृत्वा पूरयित्वा पुनः पुनः। कर्षयेत्प्रोत्थितं वायुं कर्णतोयमिवाम्बुना॥

समुद्देशे] *Dharmaputrikā* : यदा Ed. तं *Dharmaputrikā* : तद् Ed. निःशेषं] *Dharmaputrikā* : निःशेष Ed. प्रोत्थितं] *Dharmaputrikā* : प्राक्स्थितं Ed.

that the author of the *Dharmaputrikā* understood its Yogic therapy as distinct from but complementary to Ayurveda.²⁵³

The art of healing diseases through meditation has another antecedent in Tantra. For example, the treatment of diseases (*rogacikitsā*) using concentration (*dhāraṇā*) on the elements and meditation can be found in the *Matysendrasaṃhitā*,²⁵⁴ which was composed at the time when early Haṭha- and Rājayoga systems were being formulated.²⁵⁵ There are even traces of this conception in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*: 1.32, in which the hindrances (*antarāya*, *vikṣepa*), including disease (*vyādhi*), are said to be prevented by focusing the mind on one object (*ekatattvābhyaśa*).

A Vaidya-Yogi-Scholar

The treatment (*cikitsā*) of diseases was also mentioned by Sundaradeva in his works on Yoga called the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* and the *Haṭhatattvakaumudī*. Sundaradeva was a Brahmin who lived in Varanasi, most probably in the eighteenth century.²⁵⁶ The colophons of his works identify him as a doctor (*vaidya*), who was the son of Govindadeva and pupil of Viśvarūpatīrtha. He is also reported to have written various works on Ayurveda, such as the *Bhūpālavallabha* (or the *Bhūpacaryā*), the *Cikitsāsundara*, the *Līlāvatī*, the *Yogoktīvivekacandra* and the *Yogoktyupadeśāṇṛta*.²⁵⁷ His knowledge was quite wide-ranging. For example, the *Bhūpālavallabha*, which is a treatise on dietetics and pathology, includes a section on wrestling (*mallaividya*) from the *Mallapurāṇa* (HIML: IIA, 479). Both the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* and the *Haṭhatattvakaumudī* are erudite and voluminous. They are written in a variety of metres and prose. Their content

253 *Haṭhapradīpikā*: 5.22: “[The yogin] should carefully take treatment in the manner taught in the medical texts and he should perform Yogic therapy. [Thus], he quickly cures [his illnesses]” (वैद्यशास्त्रोक्तविधिना क्रियां कुर्वीत यत्नतः। कुर्याद्योगचिकित्सां च शीघ्रमेव प्रशाम्यति).

254 *Matsyendrasaṃhitā*: 4.25–28ab: “Therefore, now listen, O Goddess, to the proper treatment of diseases. Having drunk rich and very hot rice-gruel, he should practice fixation (*dhārayet*) then. He should visualize nectar (*amṛta*) in his body that would remove all diseases. He should visualize (*dhyāyet*) the Fixation of Fire [and] the Wind [Fixation and] the Fluid [Fixation] [...]” (translation by Kiss (2009: 250)).

255 Kiss 2009: 47–48.

256 Sundaradeva’s *terminus a quo* is the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Śivānandasarasvatī, which was composed in the early seventeenth-century, and his *terminus ad quem* is 1832 CE, which is the date of an incomplete manuscript of the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* in the Cambridge University Library (MS Cambridge CUL Add. 2145). He quotes the *Kumbhakapaddhati*, which is an undated compendium of breath-retentions that was probably compiled in the seventeenth or early-eighteenth century.

257 These works are reported by Meulenbeld (HIML: IIA: 479) and the catalogues, upon which this information is based, are given in HIML: IIB: 490–91.

is largely derived from earlier sources, the main ones being texts of the early Yoga corpus, Tantras, the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* and various Brahmanical works, including the early Upaniṣads, Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*.²⁵⁸ He quotes with attribution many of these sources, but more frequently rewrites earlier material in his own style without acknowledging the source.

In both the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* and the *Haṭhatattvakaumudī*, Sundaradeva mentions therapy (*cikitsā*) in the context of illnesses that arise when the yogin is careless (*pramāda*) in practising Yoga at the wrong place or time (*deśakāla*). This discussion occurs towards the beginning of both works because Sundaradeva is addressing the commencement of Yoga (*yogopakrama*). He says that if an illness arises at this time, the yogin should resort to treatment:

Loss of memory, stupidity, complete muteness,²⁵⁹ deafness, blindness, severe cough and fever; these [all] arise because of unsteadiness and anger in the body of one who is practising Yoga in the wrong place or at an [inappropriate] time. Also, mental disorders arise, such as these: desire, fear, sleepiness and excessive greed. Having first overcome [these] impediments to Yoga, along with anger, one who is dedicated and very focused, should practise Yoga with a steady mind [...]. After that, the good practitioner who is careful and has not developed [these] severe faults should practise *prāṇāyāma* with a focused mind and [proper] knowledge. If diseases arise because of negligence, listen to the treatment (*cikitsā*) for them. It is as follows. One should spread oily and warm rice-gruel on the chest to cure abdominal swelling caused by wind (*vātagulma*). Just so, one [should put] thick sour milk (*dadhi*) on piles, and [take] rice gruel for tumours and diseases arising because of [vitiated] wind. In this system, when thirsty, one should visualize unripe fruit on the tongue; when deaf, a †[sound?]† in the ears; when one has a speech impediment, a mountain and when one has chest pain, one should hold [in mind] a *rasāṅka*.²⁶⁰ When shaking, one should visualize

²⁵⁸ For a list of the works quoted by Sundaradeva in his *Haṭhatattvakaumudī*, see Gharote's edition of this work (*Haṭhatattvakaumudī*: v–vi).

²⁵⁹ I have not been able to find a reference in another work to *aṅgavimūkatā* (literally, “muteness of body”). I have assumed that it is the inability to communicate with any bodily gesture, including by mouth, facial gestures, hands, etc.

²⁶⁰ I am not certain of the meaning of *rasāṅka*. This compound occurs in the

Sarvadarśanasamgraha: 207, in its section on *Rasaśāstra* (रसाङ्गमेयमार्गीक्तो जीवमोक्षोन्यथा तु न). In his Sanskrit commentary called the *Darśanāṅkura* on the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, Vāsudevaśāstrī Abhyankar (1863–1942) glosses *rasāṅka* as *rasaśāstra* (तदाह -- रसाङ्गिति। रसशास्त्रोक्तमार्गानुसारिणैव जीवन्मुक्तत्वं संभवति नान्यथा). However, this meaning of *rasāṅka* does not seem to fit the context in *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* (MSS): 2.22.

the Himālaya in one's heart or one should place a very large rock [on one's chest]. When intense pain in the head arises shortly [after] stopping [the breath, one should put] warm rice gruel saturated with ghee [on the chest]. When a practitioner holds his concentration on whatever place supports it, [then] in a hot [place], it has a cooling effect and in a cold [place], a heating one. Having placed a nail on one's head, one should duly strike [one piece of] wood with another. Because of this, a sage's memory returns, even if he has amnesia.²⁶¹

The striking feature of Sundaradeva's treatments is their lack of sophistication. Although medical practice and literature of the Early Modern period suggest that vaidyas did not use the complex materials of Caraka and Suśruta, but theory-free compendia of recipes,²⁶² Sundaradeva's above treatments appear more like home remedies. One might speculate that Sundaradeva believed that yogins would not have access to expensive medicines or doctors, and so prescribed remedies with common ingredients. However, it is more likely that Sundaradeva's choice of treatments here has been determined by the genre of the text he was writing. In other words, in writing a Yoga text, he relied upon the curative power of visualization and concentration techniques. Therefore,

261 *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* (MSS): 2.18–19, 21–25: स्मृतिलयो जडताङ्गविमूकता वधिरतान्ध्यमहा-
कसनज्वराः। कुविषयेऽसमये परियुञ्जतो वपुषि योगममी
चलरोषतः॥ १८॥ मानसा अपि दोषास्सन्ति ते यथा॥
कामो भयं स्वप्नमतीवलोभः प्राग्योगदोषान् अपि कोपयु-
क्तान्। विहाय युक्तः सुसमाहितात्मा युञ्जीत योगं मनसा
स्थिरेण॥ १९॥ [...] अप्रमत्तोऽनवासोऽतिदोषान्तः
प्राणसंरोधनं सावधानात्मना। ज्ञानयुक्तेन सत्साधकः
साधयेच्चेत्प्रमादाद्द्रवास्तचिकित्सां शृणु॥ २१॥ सा यथा।
स्निग्धां कोष्णां यवागूं हृदि परिविभृयाद्वातगुल्मप्रशान्त्यै
तद्वद्ध्यर्शसि स्यादिति पवनभवग्रन्थिरोगे यवागूम्।
ध्यायेदामं फलं वै रसन इह तृषि श्रोत्रयोः प्राग्वद्+एव
वाधिर्यं वाग्विघाते नगमथ विभृयाद्वक्षघाते रसाङ्के॥
२२॥ कम्पे नगेन्द्रं हृदि चिन्तयेद्वा संस्थापयेत्स्थूलतरं
तथोपलम्, घृतप्लुतां कोष्णयवागुकां द्रागायामजे
मस्तकशूल उल्बणे॥ २३॥ यस्मिन्त्यस्मिंश्च यदा देशे
तदुपकारिधारणां विभृयात्, उष्णे शीतां शीते विदाहिनीं
साधकः करणी॥ २४॥ कीलं शिरसि स्थाप्य च काष्ठं
काष्ठेन ताडयेत्सम्यक्। नष्टस्मृतेरपि मुनेः स्मरणं संजायते
तेन॥ २५॥

C = MS Cambridge CUL Add 2145, G = MS
Madras GOML R3239 and J = MS Jodhpur
Mansingh PPL 2244.

18c. ऽसमये परियुञ्जतो] *Haṭhatattvakau-*
mudī: 3.18 : समेव युञ्जतो G (unmetrical) : ऽसमे
परियुञ्जतो C, J (unmetrical). 19b. अपि] G : इति
C, J. कोपयुक्तान्] C, J : कोपयुक्तान् G. 21a. अनवासो]
G : न चाप्तो C, J. 21c. सत्साधकः] G, J : येत्साधकः
C. 22a कोष्णां] एम्. : कोष्णं G : कोष्ठां C : कोष्ठं J.
22a. -प्रशान्त्यै] C, J : -प्रशान्त्ये G. 22b. -रोगे] C,
J : -रागे G. 22b. यवागूम्] C, G : यवागुम् J. 22c.
आमं] C, J : आमू G. 22c. रसन] J : रसने G : रसनं
C. 22c प्राग्वद् एव] C, J : प्राग्वेव G. 22d वक्षघाते]
conj. Dominik Wujastyk : वत्सघाते C, G, J. 23.
तथोपलम्] C, J : तथोफलं G. 23. कोष्णयवागुकां]
C, J : कोष्णयवागुक् G. 23. द्रागायामजे] C, J :
द्रागायामचे G. 23. मस्तकशूलं] J : मस्तकशूला C :
मस्तशूल G. 24. uṣṇe] C, J : उष्णे G. 25a. स्थाप्य
च] C, J : संस्थाप्य G. 25b. काष्ठेन] C : काष्ठेन J. 25d
संजायते तेन] G, J : जायते तेन C (unmetrical -
Āryā metre). This passage is similar to one
quoted by Śivānanda (*Yogacintāmaṇi*: p. 97)
and attributed to Dattātreyā.

262 See, e.g., the period characterizations
by Bose, Sen, and B. V. Subbarayappa
(1971: 263 f.), Jolly (1977: §2–3), and P. V.
Sharma (1992: 498).

unlike Bhavadevamiśra, who was willing to insert Ayurvedic material into his compilation on Yoga when opportunities arose, Sundaradeva appears to have refrained from doing so. In fact, towards the end of this same chapter, he acknowledges the limitations of medicines and advises one to resort to Yoga should they fail:

There are various diseases in which there is a predominant excess of wind. Having diagnosed the cause, it is removed and treated in this system [with the treatments mentioned in this chapter]. However, when a disease does not come to an end, [even] with hundreds of medicines, one should cure it with the [Haṭhayogic] *mudrās*, *āsanas* and *prāṇāyāmas*.²⁶³

In his works on Yoga, Sundaradeva does not contradict Yoga's default position that the practice of its techniques can cure all diseases. His treatments are for yogins who are new to the practice and have become sick because they did not abide by the requisite rules. He provided little more than simple remedies for these neophytes who could not rely on an effective practice of Yoga to cure themselves. Although Sundaradeva quotes from Ayurvedic texts in both the *Haṭhatattvakaumudī* and the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*,²⁶⁴ he does so only on the topic of food. His quotation of Ayurvedic sources in these two works is very sparse and almost insignificant in relation to their size. Although Sundaradeva consulted a wide variety of texts, he did not borrow Ayurvedic material to supplement his discussions of anatomy, as Bhavadevamiśra did, nor did he incorporate herbal preparations to bolster the therapeutic arsenal of Yoga. In this sense, he appears to have kept his knowledge of Ayurveda and Yoga relatively separate by writing works dedicated to one or the other.

263 *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* (MSS): 2.29: वा-
तप्रधानबहुला बहुधा गदाः स्युस्तद्धं चिकित्सितमिह प्रवि-
चार्यं कार्यम्। नो यात्युपक्रमशतैस्तु यदा गदोऽन्तं मुद्रा-
सनानिलनिरोधनतो जयेत्तम्॥

29a. बहुधा] C, G : बहुध J. 29a. गदाः स्युस्तद्] C, J :
गदास्युः स्तद् G. 29b. तद्धं] J : तद्धं C : तद्धच् G. 29c.
ऽन्तं] G, J : अन्तर J.

264 *Haṭhatattvakaumudī*: 4.47 (तदुक्तं वाग्भ-
टेन आयुर्वेदे) = *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā*: Sū.39.
This hemistich about wind is also found in
the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Sū.46.490cd). *Haṭha-*

saṅketacandrikā (MSS) 3.26 in G and 3.25 in
J (तथा चोक्तमायुर्वेदे। मण्डश्चतुर्दशगुणे सिद्धस्तोये त्वसि-
क्थकः। मण्डो ग्राही लघुः शीतो दीपनो धातुसाम्यकृत्।
स्रोतोमार्दवकृत्पित्तज्वरश्लेष्मश्रमापह इति।

26b. सिद्धस] em. सिद्धिस् G : सिघस J. 26c. म-
ण्डो] J : मण्डे G. 26c. लघुः] G : लघुः J. 26d. दी-
पनो धातुसाम्यकृत्] J : दीपनो धातुसाम्यकृत् G. 26e.
-मार्दव-] G : -मार्देव- J. 26e. पित्त] J : पित्थ G). I
am yet to trace the first quotation, but the
second is *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* (MSS): 3.26
= *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā*: Sū.6.26cd, 27ab.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

IF YOGINS TOOK MEDICINES and if *vaidyas* appropriated some Yoga techniques, the findings of this study suggest that such interaction had little influence overall on the texts of the Yoga traditions that have been consulted. The authors of the early corpus tend to confine themselves strictly to the topic of Yoga. One could argue that this alone is why so little information on Ayurveda is found in these works. However, this could not be said of the late corpus because many of its authors were willing to integrate information from various traditions on topics related to Yoga. Nonetheless, like Sundaradeva, the majority of these authors appear to have lacked the will to combine Yoga and Ayurveda in any significant way. The instances in which they do so, such as discussions on disease, food or anatomy, prove that it could have been achieved on a much grander scale had they pursued it fully. In cases such as the *Khecarīvidyā* and the *Yuktabhavadēva*, in which significant sections on herbs appear and in the latter Ayurvedic anatomy, the borrowing seems somewhat contrived because it is not integrated with discourse on Yoga.

Health and healing were undoubtedly important aims of premodern Yoga. They were primarily achieved through the practice of Yoga and a basic understanding of anatomy and disease, which most probably derived from earlier Tantric, ascetic and Brahmanical traditions. Yoga traditions developed distinctly Yogic therapeutic interventions such as the *ṣaṭkarma* and, in this sense, they appear to have made a unique contribution to premodern medicinal traditions of South Asia.²⁶⁵ The *Satkarmasaṅgraha* is a true synthesis of Ayurveda and Haṭhayoga's *ṣaṭkarma* for the treatment of yogins. Nonetheless, the allusions to a group of *vaidya-yogins* in the *Yogayājñavalkya* and the *vaidya-guru* in the *Amṛtasiddhi* appear to point to yogins who might have healed others through Yoga, rather than to yogins who had obtained the specialized knowledge of Ayurveda. Moreover, the metaphor of *mokṣa* as the ultimate healing of all suffering appears to have demarcated the battleground between the disciplines of Yoga and Ayurveda rather than common ground for their integration. The strong emphasis on healing in Yoga traditions and their distinct curative methods were the outcome of this rivalry.

Nearly all premodern Yoga texts claim frequently that their practices cure each and every disease. In fact, the curative powers of Yoga are declared so emphatically that one wonders how their proponents might have sought medical help without the embarrassment of having to admit that their Yoga practice

²⁶⁵ For a discussion on Indian medicine

beyond Ayurveda, see Maas 2019: 1–2.

had failed. Furthermore, there are instances where yogins claim that the practice of Yoga results in alchemical powers, such as the ability to turn iron and other metals into gold by smearing them with one's own urine and faeces.²⁶⁶ The proponents of these Yoga traditions were accustomed to competing with other soteriologies and it is likely that they did so with Ayurveda and Rāsaśāstra. This would explain why their texts promoted their own methods and remained largely silent on those of other traditions which were vying for the same rewards. As noted above, the claims of doctors are questioned in the *Amaraughaprabodha* and, in the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* (52), alchemy (*dhātuvāda*) is said to be an obstacle (*vighna*).

The conclusive remarks of this study should be understood within the limitations of the evidence on which they rely. Yoga texts are prescriptive²⁶⁷ and thus reveal very little about the actual behaviour of yogins when they were not practising Yoga. Travellers' accounts which mention yogins can provide information that might not be in a Yoga text. Several of these accounts report of yogins taking medicines. For example, in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo observed "yogis" (*ciugi*) taking alchemical cocktails of mercury and sulphur twice a month in order to prolong their lives.²⁶⁸ In spite of the uncertainty about the identity of such "yogis" in this and similar accounts, it seems reasonable to accept that those yogins whose reputations did not rely on claims that Yoga could cure all diseases and guarantee a long life, might well have been tempted to achieve health and immortality by combining Yoga with the consumption of medicinal compounds, if they were available.

Ideally, I would have liked to have searched more extensively for passages on Yoga in Ayurvedic and alchemical texts that date from the tenth to eighteenth century, but such research has remained beyond the scope of this article. I know of only one such passage which probably derives from a Yoga text. A section on Yoga in the alchemical compilation called the *Ānandakanda* appears to be based on an early recension of the *Vivekamārtanḍa*.²⁶⁹ Further research may reveal the extent to which alchemists integrated teachings specific to premodern Yoga traditions in their literary works.

266 *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*: 99. Cf. *Rasārṇava*: 12.20ab (तस्य मूत्रपुरीषेण शुल्वं भवति काञ्चनम्), 12.265, etc.

267 For more on the limitations of prescriptive texts, see Sanderson 2013: 215–16.

268 See White 1996: 50 for details of this reference in Marco Polo's travel book and for more accounts by François Bernier and John

Campell Oman.

269 *Ānandakanda*: 1.20.48–196. The *Ānandakanda*'s chapter on Yoga contains the same contents as the *Vivekamārtanḍa* (including the same six auxiliaries (*aṅga*), the *ajapā* mantra, the same *āsanas*, *bandhas*, *mudrās* and so on).

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APPENDIX: THE SHARED TERMINOLOGY OF YOGA AND
AYURVEDA IN THE *HATĦAPRADĪPIKĀ* (1972 EDITION)

Frequency

General Terms

<i>doṣa</i>	1.33, 2.21, 28, 34, 53, 3.14, 17, 4.75
<i>vāta</i> (in the sense of a bodily wind)	2.27, 65
<i>pitta</i>	2.27, 58, 65, 3.96
<i>kapha</i>	2.27, 66
<i>śleṣman</i>	2.21, 65
<i>dhātu</i>	1.66, 2.28, 53
<i>medas</i>	2.21

Diseases

<i>gulma</i> (swelling)	1.33, 2.27, 58, 3.17
<i>hikkā</i> (hiccup)	2.17
<i>śvāsa</i> (breathing difficulty),	2.17, 25
<i>kāsa</i> (cough)	2.17, 25
<i>śiraḥkarṇākṣivedana</i>	2.17
<i>plīha</i> (enlargement of the spleen)	2.25, 27, 58
<i>kuṣṭha</i> (skin diseases)	2.25, 3.17
<i>udara</i> (stomach diseases)	1.33, 2.27
<i>kaphadoṣa</i>	2.35, 36
<i>kapharoga</i> (<i>viṃśati</i>)	2.25
<i>śleṣmadoṣa</i>	2.52
<i>vātadoṣa</i>	2.50
<i>kṛmidoṣa</i>	2.50
<i>nāḍījalodara</i>	2.53
<i>dhātugatadoṣa</i>	2.53

<i>sthaulya</i> (obesity)	2.36
<i>ālasya</i> (sloth)	2.55
<i>jvara</i> (fever)	2.58
<i>pitta</i>	2.58
<i>viṣa</i>	2.58, 3.16, 38, 45
<i>brahmanāḍīmukhe saṁsthakapha</i>	2.66
<i>kṣaya</i> (consumption)	3.17
<i>gudāvarta</i> (constipation)	3.17
<i>trṣā</i> (thirst)	2.55, 58
<i>kṣudhā</i> (hunger)	2.55, 58
<i>ajīrna</i> (indigestion)	3.17
<i>valīpalitavepaghnaḥ</i> (eliminating wrinkles, grey hair and trembling)	3.28
<i>valitaṁ palitaṁ na dṛśyate</i>	3.81

In addition to this, there are references to stimulating digestive fire,²⁷⁰ curing twenty phlegmatic diseases,²⁷¹ curing eye diseases²⁷² and throat problems, restoration of the bodily constituents (*dhātu*), senses and mind,²⁷³ destroying all or a group of diseases²⁷⁴ and bestowing health.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁰ For example, *jaṭharapradīpti* 1.27, *udayaṁ jaṭharānalasya* 1.29, *janayati jaṭharāgniṁ* 1.31, *analasya pradīpanam*, 2.20, *mandāgnisandīpana* 2.34, *dehānalavivardhana* 2.52, *śarīrāgnivivardhana* 2.65, *agnidīpana* 2.78, *jaṭharāgnivivardhini* 3.79

²⁷¹ *kapharogāś ca viṁśatiḥ* 2.25. This demonstrates that a number of phlegmatic diseases were known. However, in most cases, a Yoga technique is said to remove imbalances in phlegm (e.g., *kaphadoṣaviśoṣaṇī* 2.36)

²⁷² *mocanaṁ netrarogāṇāṁ* 2.33

²⁷³ *dhātuvindriyāntaḥkaraṇaprasāda* 2.29

²⁷⁴ *pracaṇḍarugmaṇḍalakhaṇḍana* 1.27, *harati sakalarogān* 1.33, *vyādhivināśa* 1.46, *sarvavyādhivināśana* 1.49, 54, *sarvarogakṣaya* 2.16, *kṣīyante sakalāmayaḥ* 2.28, *jaṭrūrdhvaṣṭarogauḥ* [...] *āśu nihanti* 2.30, *aśeṣadoṣamayaśoṣaṇī* 2.34, *mucyate* [...] *vyādhimṛtyujarādibhiḥ* 3.37, *vyādhināṁ haraṇam* 3.49

²⁷⁵ *ārogya* 1.17, *ārogatā* 1.29, 2.78, *na rogo* [...] *tasya* 3.38, *pīḍyate na sa rogeṇa* 3.39, *nirvyādhīḥ* 3.50, *na jāyate* [...] *rogādikaṁ* 3.74

ABBREVIATIONS

MS	manuscript
Ed.	Edition
ed.	editor
Σ	All manuscripts
corr.	correction
emend.	emendation
conj.	conjecture
unmetr.	unmetrical
cf.	confer
ARL	Adyar Research Library
GOML	[Indian] Government Oriental Research Library
NAK	National Archives of Kathmandu

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The History of Science in South Asia • Department of History and Classics, 2–81 HM Tory Building, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB, T6G 2H4, Canada.